

NOTES
BIBLIOGRAPHY
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Abbreviations

Adler	Friedrich Adler, ed., <i>Victor Adler Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky</i> (Vienna, 1954).
Bebel	Karl Kautsky, Jr., ed., <i>August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky</i> (Assen, 1971).
Bebel-Engels	Werner Blumenberg, ed., <i>August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels</i> (The Hague, 1965).
Bernstein	Helmuth Hirsch, ed., <i>Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels</i> (Assen, 1970).
Blumenberg	Werner Blumenburg, <i>Karl Kautskys literarisches Werk</i> (The Hague, 1960).
Engels	Benedikt Kautsky, ed., <i>Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky</i> (Vienna, 1955).
E&E	Karl Kautsky, <i>Erinnerungen und Erörterungen</i> (The Hague, 1960).
IRSH	<i>International Review of Social History</i> (Amsterdam).
KA	Kautsky archive, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.
KFA	Kautsky family archive, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.
Lichtheim	George Lichtheim, <i>Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study</i> (New York, 1961).
Marx-Engels (1942)	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, <i>Selected Correspondence</i> (New York, 1942).
Marx-Engels (1960)	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, <i>Selected Correspondence</i> (Moscow, 1960).
NZ	<i>Die neue Zeit</i> (Stuttgart, 1883-1917).
Osterroth	Franz Osterroth, <i>Biographisches Lexikon des Sozialismus</i> (Hanover, 1960).
Protokoll	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, <i>Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages</i> (Berlin, 1891-1925).
Schorske	Carl E. Schorske, <i>German Social Democracy, 1905-1917: The Development of the Great Schism</i> (New York, 1955).

Notes

Chapter One: Introduction

1. The first translation into Chinese of a work by Kautsky was *Ma-k'o-ssu ching-chi hsueh-shuo* [Karl Marx' ökonomische Lehren] (Shanghai, 1911). James P. Harrison, *The Communists and Chinese Peasant Rebellions* (New York, 1969), p. 26, suggested that this may have been the first book-length Marxist work translated into Chinese. A Chinese translation of *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, *Lun wu-ch'an chieh-chi chuan-cheng*, appeared in Taiwan in 1971. In the same year, Kautsky's *The Class Struggle* was reissued in the United States. The Soviet-block states have published many translations of Kautsky's works since World War II.

2. The most important work by Lenin in establishing the precedent for almost unqualified vilification of Kautsky by communists was *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, written in 1918. Contemporary expansion and refinement of this position will be dealt with in the notes when appropriate. The noncommunist attack is best represented by James Joll, *The Second International* (New York, 1960), and John P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*, 2 vols. (London, 1966), and their criticisms will also be dealt with below. George Lichtheim, *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York, 1961), and Hans-Josef Steinberg, *Sozialismus und deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (Hanover, 1967), are the only two authors of major works who have, in my opinion, done well by Kautsky. John H. Kautsky, "The Political Thoughts of Karl Kautsky" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1951), exaggerates certain aspects of Kautsky's work. He is a grandson of Kautsky, and, at least in 1951, a defender at the expense of reasonable perspective. See pp. i, 8, and 11 of his dissertation for examples of this distortion.

3. Lichtheim and Steinberg fall into this category.

4. Lenin, Nettl, and Joll are examples of this approach.

5. I give my sincere thanks to Artur Rachwald for providing me with an analysis of Waldenberg's book. Karl Renner, an Austrian socialist, self-professed student of Kautsky, but during World War I an opponent of his mentor, wrote a brief and laudatory biographical sketch, *Karl Kautsky* (Berlin, 1929). In 1954, Hermann Brill published an interesting but very limited review of some aspects of Kautsky's socialist career in "Karl Kautsky," *Zeitschrift für Politik* 3 (September 1954), 211-40.

6. "Sozialistische Kolonialpolitik," *NZ* 27:2 (1908-09), 39.

7. On many occasions Kautsky discussed the tendency of individual variation to decrease in statistical importance as the size of the population increased. For a

particularly thorough treatment, see "Klasseninteresse - Sonderinteresse - Gemeininteresse," NZ 21:1 (1902-03), 240-45, 261-74.

8. "Allerhand Revolutionäres," NZ 22:1 (1903-04), 655-56.

9. Kautsky to Engels (4 December 1880), Engels, p. 10.

10. A most interesting discussion of the ambiguous nature of Wilhelmine Germany may be found in Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Garden City, N.Y., 1967), pp. 31-52.

11. Andrew G. Whiteside, *The Socialism of Fools* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 51, quoted Kautsky on what Whiteside called "his fellow Jews." The quote is accurately cited, but the context is wrong, since Kautsky was referring to the Jews he first met upon entering the Austrian socialist movement in the mid-1870s. See Benedikt Kautsky, ed., *Luise Kautsky zum Gedenken* (New York, 1945), and Kautsky's own explanation in *E&E*, pp. 36-37.

Chapter Two: Prague and Vienna, 1854-1879

1. *E&E*, pp. 36-78, 148-49, 273. This is a memoir begun by Kautsky in 1936 and left uncompleted at his death in 1938. It covers only the years up to 1883, but constitutes the only major published source on Kautsky's early life.

2. *E&E*, pp. 35, 79-80, 102-05, 112; Kautsky to Adler (12 December 1904), Adler, pp. 441-42.

3. *E&E*, pp. 108-09, 170-72, 194.

4. Wilhelm Liebknecht to Kautsky (4 October 1876), in George Eckert, ed., *Wilhelm Liebknechts Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten*, vol. 1, 1862-1878 (Assen, 1973), p. 708; Marx to Jenny Longuet (11 April 1881), Marx-Engels (1942), p. 389; Engels to Kautsky (27 August 1881), Engels, p. 39. See also Engels to Bebel (25 August 1881), Bebel-Engels, p. 114.

5. *E&E*, pp. 10-12, 96-97, 113-33, 137-39, 152.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 141, 175-76, 180-81.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-83, 227, 235-37, 273-74, 397-98; Kautsky to Ernst Haeckel (28 October 1882), KFA 8.

8. Kautsky to Engels (10 February 1881), Engels, pp. 1 (Kautsky's introduction), 16; Engels to Bebel (22-[24] June 1885), Bebel-Engels, p. 228.

9. Engels to Bebel (24 July 1885), Marx-Engels (1942), p. 440.

10. Engels to Kautsky (1 February 1881), Engels, p. 13.

11. *E&E*, pp. 238-42, 249-51, 253-60 (summary of *Atlantic-Pacific Company*), 260-64, 266-68, 273-74; contract between Edmund Gerson and Karl Kautsky, "dramatic author," 14 November 1878, KFA 3.

12. *E&E*, pp. 66-70, 88, 104-07, 160-61.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 340; Blumenberg, pp. 12-13; Engels, p. 1; Kautsky to Luise (11 February 1911), KFA 36.

14. For example, Walter Holzheuer, *Karl Kautskys Werk als Weltanschauung* (Munich, 1972), tries to tie Kautsky's early work very specifically to Buckle and Haeckel.

15. *E&E*, pp. 212-13. The two authors who most emphasized the importance of Darwin to the development of Kautsky's thought were Karl Korsch, "Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Karl Kautsky," *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung* 14:2 (1929), 179-279, and, following Korsch's lead, Erich Matthias, "Kautsky und der Kautskyanismus," *Marxismusstudien*, 2nd ser. (1957), pp. 151-97.

16. *E&E*, pp. 155-61.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 101.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 186.

19. For Palacky and his influence on Czech nationalism, see Joseph F. Zacek, *Palacky: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague, 1970); Hans Kohn, *Not By Arms Alone* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 69-83; Arthur J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 24; and Jan Havranek, "The Development of Czech Nationalism," *Austrian History Yearbook* 3 (1967), 242-43.

20. Kautsky discussed the impact of the Commune on his own development in several places, most notably in *E&E*, pp. 178-86. Marx and Engels both claimed the Commune as a model for the future with few reservations; for Marx, see *The Civil War in France*, and for Engels, see the introduction he wrote for an 1891 edition of Marx's work. Though Lenin was more critical of the Commune, he too accepted it as both symbol and model of the workers' state. However, the Commune was not the product of agitation by members of the First International; the Communards were not exclusively workers; and even among the minority of socialists, followers of Marx were not numerous. It was widely held for years that the Commune had been socialist and even Marxist. See David McLellan, *Karl Marx* (New York, 1973), pp. 388-404.

21. *E&E*, pp. 187-89. In 1896, Kautsky recommended *M. Antoine* to Victor Adler for serialization in the Austrian party newspaper. Kautsky to Adler (2 June), Adler, p. 209.

22. *E&E*, pp. 186, 190; Kautsky to Luise (11 February 1911), KFA 36.

23. George Sand, *The Son of M. Antoine* (Philadelphia, 1900), pp. 155, 167-68, 171.

24. *E&E*, pp. 190-93, 203-07.

25. Lassalle and the German workers' movement were covered in some detail by the liberal Viennese press; for example, see "Zur Arbeiterfrage," *Neue Freie Presse*, no. 91, 30 November 1864. Kautsky briefly discussed his own relationship with Christian deism at this time in *E&E*, pp. 210-12. See also Holzheuer, *Karl Kautsky's Werk*, pp. 2-11, for a discussion of the replacement of a Christian, humanist world view by a "natural-scientific materialism as *Weltanschauung*."

26. Probably it would be better to use scientism instead of positivism here, but it would also be pedantic. Walter M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963), suggested that such a substitution be made in all treatments of nineteenth-century intellectual history. However, positivism has come to be used very generally to refer to that vague but widespread European movement which held that the investigatory and analytical techniques of the natural sciences should be applied to all fields of human knowledge, and placed its faith in science rather than in ethics or religion for the salvation of mankind from the evils of itself and the outer world. As used here, "positivism" does not mean the school that identified with the doctrines of August Comte. This distinction is critical because of the importance of Darwin to the development of Kautsky's thought. Virtually all of the Positivists (in the Comtian sense) greeted Darwin's theory of natural selection with hostility, contending that it was "rationalistic but not experimental, ingenious but lacking sufficient evidence" (Simon, p. 25). This distinction between the rationalistic and the experimental is what separates most of the followers of Comte from the larger positivist movement in an epistemological sense; most Comtians were not in the mainstream of the Enlightenment tradition to the extent that they rejected rationalism. Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and virtually all Marxists were rationalists, and therefore they fall into this mainstream. For a discussion of epistemology in the nineteenth century, see Ernest Cassirer, *The Problem of Knowledge* (New Haven, 1950), especially pp. 118-216. See also Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution* (Boston, 1960), pp. 323-88.

By materialism I do not mean to imply strict philosophical materialism which rejects the reality of ideas, but rather that tendency which seeks to identify material determin-

ants of ideas and actions, whether in economics or biochemistry or elsewhere. This too is a tendency present in the Enlightenment tradition. For a discussion of Marx and materialism, see Z. A. Jordan, *The Evolution of Dialectical Materialism* (New York, 1967), pp. 13-64. Jordan argues that Marx should be called a naturalist, rather than a materialist, a distinction that is important only if the terms naturalism and materialism are taken out of Marx's historical milieu and given strict philosophical interpretations.

27. *EG&E*, pp. 212-13. The interrelations of materialists in Europe at mid-century could hardly be better demonstrated than by the fact that Buckle's German translator was none other than Arnold Ruge, one of the central figures of the Young Hegelian movement.

28. Ernst Haeckel, *The History of Creation*, 2 vols. (London, 1876), I, 170-74. For a very thorough discussion of Haeckel, see Daniel Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism* (London, 1971).

29. Haeckel, *History*, I, 256, 281, 313, II, 307-10, 321. For Kautsky's explanation of the origins of less culturally developed races, see "Die Entstehung der ethischen Begriffe," *Vorwärts*, 30 December 1877.

30. Haeckel, *History*, I, 4, 169, 179, 203-26, 237, 350.

31. *EG&E*, pp. 518-21; Adler to Dr. Johannes Volkelt (13 September 1882), Adler, pp. 4-6; Kautsky to Haeckel (28 October 1882), KFA 8; Gasman, *Scientific Origins*, p. 151; Hans-Günter Zmarlik, "Der Sozialdarwinismus in Deutschland als geschichtliches Problem," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 11 (July 1963), 259 n.19. In a letter to Engels, Kautsky identified *Kosmos* as "a liberal German Darwinist technical journal," the editor of which had socialist sympathies. Kautsky to Engels (12 March 1884), Engels, p. 103.

32. Ludwig Büchner, *Force and Matter* (New York, 1891), pp. v-vii (1855 preface), 71, 75, 156, 222, 232-40, 242, 254, 289, 301-15, 367, 393. In this edition (it is reprinted from the fourth English edition, translated from the fifteenth German edition) Haeckel is cited or discussed on pp. 2, 67, 71, 132, 141-46, 153, 156, 161-64, 176, 238, 337, 350.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. v, 57, 171, 189-90, 299, 343.

34. *EG&E*, pp. 212-13.

35. *Force and Matter*, pp. 382-83.

36. "Entstehung," *Vorwärts*, 30 December 1877.

37. Büchner, *Force and Matter*, p. 388.

38. Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, 2 vols. (New York, 1939), I, 4, 5, 13. See also p. 163 for an incredible paean to progress.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 29-30, 81-93, 106, II, 2-7. Büchner contended almost precisely the same thing and cited Buckle as a source, *Force and Matter*, pp. 370-71.

40. Buckle, *History*, I, 113, 162, 171, 209, 599, 600, 627, 688-89.

41. Many of Kautsky's articles appeared in several parts, as was customary in socialist journals. In 1875, he published a four-part article on "Darwin und der Sozialismus," in the *Gleichheit*; in 1876, a two-part article on "Der Sozialismus und der Kampf um das Dasein," in the *Volkstaat*; in 1877, a five-part article on "Der Kampf um's Dasein in der Menschenwelt," in the *Vorwärts*; in 1877-1878, a four-part article on "Die Entstehung der ethischen Begriffe" and a three-part article on "Das Bevölkerungsgesetz und die Bewaldung," in the *Vorwärts*. These comprise his major discussion of natural science and socialism. Much of his more reportorial work on Austrian affairs appeared in the "Correspondenzen" column of the *Vorwärts*. After the virtual elimination of the German socialist press following the passage of the antisocialist law in late 1878, most of Kautsky's articles for the remainder of the year and for all of 1879 appeared in the Austrian press, especially in *Der Sozialist*. The latter year was the only one in which the majority of his work appeared in that country.

42. "Der Sozialismus und der Kampf um das Dasein," *Volkstaat*, 28 and 30 April 1876.

This article was signed "von einem Serben," one of several pseudonyms Kautsky used at that time.

43. Ibid., 28 April.

44. Ibid., 30 April.

45. Ibid., 28 April.

46. *E&E*, pp. 325, 367, 375-77; "Geschichte und Sozialismus," *Vorwärts*, 8 March 1878. As an example of his familiarity with Marx, see "Der Kampf um's Dasein in der Menschenwelt," *Vorwärts*, 30 March, 1, 6, 8, and 11 April 1877, where Kautsky identified Marx and Darwin as the two men who had finally provided the means by which history based on "the naturalist laws of human development" could be written. Darwin provided a satisfying materialist world explanation, and Marx traced intellectual developments "to the history of production" (30 March 1877).

47. Engels to Bebel (15 October 1875), Marx-Engels, p. 365, and Bebel-Engels, pp. 40-41.

48. *E&E*, pp. 367-70, 373-74; "Entstehung," *Vorwärts*, 6 February 1878. The editorial note appended to the latter pointed out that Kautsky's contention of a low level of ethical and cultural development in China was probably wrong, referring the reader to a review of Herbert A. Giles's *Chinese Sketches* which had appeared in the *Vorwärts* of 1 February.

49. Engels, p. 4; Peter Gay, *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism* (New York, 1952), p. 43. A more thorough discussion of *Anti-Dühring* and its impact on Kautsky will be taken up in the next chapter.

50. "Die Physiognomie der heutigen Gesellschaft," *Vorwärts*, 31 March 1878; "Sozial-Conservatives," *Vorwärts*, 14 April 1878; Engels, p. 7.

51. Herbert Steiner, *Die Arbeiterbewegung Oesterreichs, 1867-1889* (Vienna, 1964), pp. 73-78, 82, 121, 169; *Vorwärts*, 3 June 1877; Havranek, "Czech Nationalism," pp. 224-29.

52. Steiner, *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 131.

53. Ibid., pp. 3, 7-9, 61-69, 82-101.

54. Ibid., pp. 132-35, 157-61, 171-83, and 197-208.

55. Ibid., pp. 13-15, 28-31, 37-39, 66, 104-11, 115-17, 119-20, 169, 244. For Kautsky's account of the early history of the Austrian socialist movement, see "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Oesterreich," *NZ*, 8 (1890), 49-56, 97-106, 154-63.

56. *E&E*, pp. 227-31, 307, 316. Kautsky's first contribution to the Austrian socialist press was an attack on the moderates, "Oberwinders Schwanengesang," *Gleichheit*, 29 May 1875.

57. *E&E*, pp. 285, 317, 334-38. For a discussion of the genesis and function of these observers at working-class gatherings, see Richard Reichard, *Crippled from Birth: German Social Democracy, 1844-1870* (Ames, Iowa, 1969), pp. 116-18.

58. "Correspondenzen," *Vorwärts*, 4 October 1876, 18 May and 3 June 1877.

59. "Die Parteien und die Wissenschaft," *Vorwärts*, 3 October 1877.

60. *E&E*, pp. 344-46, 359, 362, 413; "Correspondenzen," and "Aus Oesterreich," *Vorwärts*, 29 May and 7 June 1878. A few years after the fact, Kautsky also suggested that the moderation of Kaler-Reinthal's 1876 program changes and the reunion with the former Oberwinderians caused a backlash in the direction of anarchism. Steiner, *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 128 (quoting Kautsky to Herman Schlueter, 30 December 1884, International Institute for Social History). For further discussion of Kautsky's attitude toward Most and the Austrian anarchists, see Adolf Braun, "Kautsky in Oesterreich," and Eduard Bernstein, "Kautskys erstes Wirken in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie," both in *Karl Kautsky: Der Denker und Kämpfer* (Vienna, 1924), pp. 61-63, 67-68; Vernon Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890* (Princeton, 1966), p. 111; Steiner, *Arbeiterbewegung*, pp. 155-59.

61. *E&E*, pp. 283-84. Braun, "Kautsky in Oesterreich," p. 62, suggested that Kautsky's

eventual failure to turn much of the Austrian party away from Most influenced him to move even closer to the Germans.

62. *E&E*, pp. 353, 412-13, 415-17, 419-20; Engels, p. 7; Steiner, *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 17.

Chapter Three: The Peripatetic Decade, 1880-1890

1. *E&E*, pp. 420-21; Mary Lefebvre to Kautsky (18 April 1880), KFA 4; Engels, p. 122 n.5; Bebel, p. 87 n. 8; Eduard Bernstein, *My Years of Exile* (London, 1921), p. 107; August Bebel, *Aus meinen Leben*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1910-14), III, 96.

2. *E&E*, pp. 448, 450. For an account of the German socialist exiles in Zurich, see the pertinent passages in Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, and in Bernstein, *My Years*.

3. *E&E*, pp. 431-33, 461-62, 491-92; Kautsky to Engels (10 February 1881), Engels, p. 16.

4. *E&E*, pp. 433-34, 440; Bebel, xxx (quoting Kautsky, *Die Volkswirtschaftslehre der Gegenwart* [Berlin, 1924], p. 10); Engels, p. 7; Bernstein, "Kautskys erstes Wirken," p. 70; Bernstein, *My Years* p. 108; Gay, *Dilemma*, p. 51.

5. *E&E*, pp. 462-70; Engels, p. 8; Bebel to Engels (26 December 1880), Engels to Bebel (20-[23] January 1886), Bebel-Engels, pp. 100, 250-51; Bernstein to Engels (6 February and 9 September 1881), Engels to Bernstein (12 March, 14 April, and 25 August 1881), Bernstein, pp. 18-19, 25, 33; Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, pp. 91-93; Gay, *Dilemma*, p. 47; Bebel, *Leben*, III, 168.

6. Kautsky to Engels (4 December 1880), Engels to Kautsky (1 February 1881), Engels, pp. 9-10, 12-13.

7. *E&E*, pp. 470-72, 475, 481-82, 484; Engels, pp. 17, 23.

8. Marx to Jenny Longuet (11 April 1881), Marx-Engels (1942), p. 389; Engels, pp. 88-89.

9. Engels to Bernstein (14 April 1881), Bernstein, p. 25; Engels to Bebel (25 August 1881), Bebel-Engels, p. 114.

10. Engels to Bebel (30 April 1883), Bebel-Engels, pp. 152-53.

11. *E&E*, pp. 429, 439, 474, 498-502, 505; Engels, pp. 8, 10-11; Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, pp. 169-70. Höchberg's party activities ended completely in 1883, and he died in 1885. Kautsky and Höchberg never met again after the former left Zurich in 1882, but they continued to correspond.

12. *E&E*, pp. 508-09; Kautsky to Engels (11 and 31 May, 6 September 1882), Engels, pp. 54, 58-59, 61; Steiner, *Arbeiterbewegung*, pp. 173-80, 208, 216, 221, 233. Among the many attacks on the anarchists Kautsky published in the Viennese socialist journal *Wahrheit*, see especially "Das Raubattentat an Merstallinger" and "Mit allen Mitteln," both 1 September 1882, reprinted in Ludwig Brühl, *Geschichte der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1922-23), III, 268-72.

13. Bernstein to Engels (13 July 1882), Engels to Bernstein (15 July 1882), Bernstein, pp. 116, 118; Kautsky to Engels (11 and 31 May, 6 September 1882), Engels, pp. 57-59.

14. *E&E*, pp. 514-17, 523-25, 528; Kautsky to Engels (11 October 1882), Engels, pp. 64, 68.

15. For the radical-moderate split of the antisocialist years, see Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, pp. 82-83, 89-90, 129-38, 152, 154, 158. For the ambiguous, petit bourgeois and democratic roots of German socialism, see Reichard, *Crippled from Birth*.

16. *E&E*, pp. 374-75; Kautsky to Engels (11 October and 11 November 1882), Engels to Kautsky (15 November 1882), Engels, pp. 64-66, 68. In the first year of the *Neue Zeit*, Kautsky wrote articles on "Die sozialen Triebe in der Tierwelt," "Der Kampf ums Dasein

in der Pflanzenwelt," "Die Traditionen der sozialen Tiere"; the second year opened with a three-part article on "Die sozialen Triebe in der Menschenwelt."

17. Kautsky to Engels (14 September and 3 October 1883, 15 April and 29 May 1884), Engels to Kautsky (18 September 1883), Engels, pp. 81-82, 85, 110-11, 118-19.

18. Kautsky to Engels (5 August and 3 October 1883), Engels, pp. 79-80, 82, 85-86, 88, 91; Kautsky to Bebel (30 October 1884), Bebel, pp. 19-21. Apparently Liebknecht vetoed this move to London.

19. Kautsky to Engels (29 May and 2 June 1884), Engels, pp. 117-18, 122; Kautsky to Dietz (30 May 1884), KFA 8. In his memoirs, Bloss made only a brief passing reference to his participation on the *Neue Zeit*. See Wilhelm Bloss, *Denkwürdigkeiten eines Sozialdemokraten*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1914-19), II, 69.

20. Kautsky to Engels (29 May and 23 June 1884), Engels, pp. 117-18, 125; Bebel to Engels (8 June 1884), Bebel-Engels, p. 184.

21. Bebel to Kautsky (13 September 1884), Bebel, pp. 18-19.

22. Kautsky to Bebel (8 November 1884), Bebel, p. 24; Engels, p. 165.

23. Engels to Kautsky (19 July 1884), Kautsky to Engels (26 June, 18 August, and 26 October 1884, 9 January 1885), Engels, pp. 129, 137-38, 140, 152-53, 161-62; Bernstein to Engels (16 July 1884), Bernstein, p. 284. Liebknecht played a very inconsistent role in all these developments; he seemed motivated by a need to try to maintain unity at all costs and by the personal interests of Geiser.

24. Engels to Kautsky (26 April 1884), Kautsky to Engels (29 April 1884), Engels, pp. 111-13; Kautsky to Bebel (3 October and 8 November 1884), Bebel, pp. 21, 25; Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, p. 130.

25. Kautsky to Bebel (3 October 1884, 14 February 1885), Bebel, pp. 20-21, 26-28.

26. Kautsky to Engels (22 October, 22 December 1884, 9 January 1885), Engels, pp. 152-53, 157-58, 160-62.

27. Kautsky to Engels (30 July and 9 August 1886), Engels to Kautsky (31 July 1886), Engels, pp. 165-67, 194-95, 198; Kautsky to Adler (15 March 1887), Adler, p. 28; Walter Emden and secretary to Kautsky (6 May 1887 through 30 April 1888), KFA 2.

28. Kautsky to Engels (9 January 1885), Engels, pp. 161-62; Kautsky to Bebel (14 February, 10 and 16 March, and 22 April 1885), Bebel, pp. 27-28, 35-39.

29. Kautsky to Bernstein (5 April 1885), Bernstein, pp. 434-35; Engels to Bebel (22-[24] June 1885), Bebel-Engels, p. 228; Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, pp. 193-204. *Vertrauensmann* is virtually untranslatable in the sense implied here; it was used by the socialists during the antisocialist law period to describe the person who served as a party contact for several other more or less clandestine socialists to keep them informed of party developments and help disseminate illegal literature. Obviously these people were highly respected and trusted in party circles.

30. Engels to Kautsky (23 May 1884, 1 April 1890), Kautsky to Engels (2 April 1890), Engels, pp. 115, 251-52; Kautsky to Bebel (15 December 1885, 25 October 1886), Bebel, pp. 46-47, 57; Bebel to Engels (5 July and 7 December 1885, 9 April 1890), Bebel-Engels, pp. 231, 245-46, 388.

31. Engels to Kautsky (17 October 1888), Engels, pp. 212-14, 222-24; Bebel to Engels (15 October 1888), Engels to Bebel (25 October 1888), Bebel-Engels, pp. 337, 340; Natalie Liebknecht to Engels (27 November 1888), in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, ed. Georg Eckart (The Hague, 1963), p. 320; Chushichi Tsuzuki, *The Life of Eleanor Marx* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 244-47. For Engels' somewhat muddled account of the Kautskys' split, see Engels to Laura Lafargue (13 October 1888), in Friedrich Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, trans. Yvonne Kapp, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1960), II, 157-58.

32. Kautsky to Bebel (14 and 22 September 1888), Bebel, pp. 68-69, 70-71; Engels to Kautsky (15 September 1889), Engels, pp. 247, 249 n.5; Tsuzuki, *Eleanor Marx*, pp. 257-63.

33. Engels to Kautsky (18 and 28 January, and 20 February 1889), Kautsky to Engels (5 and 26 February 1889), Engels, pp. 227-30, 232-60, 265; Kautsky to Adler (5 August 1891), Adler, p. 75.

34. Kautsky to Engels (13 May, 20, 27, and 28 June, and 10 July 1892), Engels to Kautsky (17 May, 25 June, and 5 July 1892, and 21 May 1895), Engels, pp. 339-57; Tsuzuki, *Eleanor Marx*, p. 247.

35. Engels, pp. 433-50; Bebel to Adler (17 November and 20 December 1890, 5 June 1892, and 18 September 1895), Adler, pp. 63-64, 66-67, 90, 187.

36. Kautsky to Engels (9 April and 22 August 1890), Engels, pp. 213, 251, 253-55, 258; Kautsky to Luise Ronsperger (drafts and letter, 29 December 1889), KFA 35.

37. Testimony by Kautsky to the importance of *Anti-Dühring* occurs in many places, see especially Engels, p. 4, and *EE*, pp. 436-37 and 483-84. For the changes in Marxism made by Engels, see Erhard Lucas, "Marx' und Engels' Auseinandersetzung mit Darwin: Zur Differenz zwischen Marx und Engels," *IRSH* 9 (1964), 433-69; Dieter Groh, "Marx, Engels, und Darwin: Naturgesetzliche Entwicklung oder Revolution?" *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 8 (1967), 544-59; Donald C. Hodges, "Engels' Contribution to Marxism," *The Socialist Register* 1965 (New York, 1965), pp. 297-310; Alfred Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (London, 1971), pp. 51-61; Paul Walton and Andrew Gamble, *From Alienation to Surplus Value* (London, 1972), pp. 51-76; Lichtheim, pp. 234-58.

38. Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (London, 1943), pp. 15, 31.

39. For the debate on Kautsky, see Korsch, "Geschichtsauffassung"; Matthias, *Kautsky*; and Steinberg, *Sozialismus*, pp. 51-53.

40. "Der Darwinismus und die Revolution," "Die urwüchsige Form des Kampfes um's Dasein," "Der Staatssozialismus," "Phäkenenthum," *Sozialdemokrat*, 4 and 18 April 1880, 15 September and 8 December 1881, 6 July 1882; "Die sozialen Triebe in der Tierwelt," *NZ* 1 (1883), 20-27, 67-73; "Die sozialen Triebe in der Menschenwelt," *NZ* 2 (1884), 13-19, 49-59, 118-25; "Die Indianerfrage," *NZ* 3 (1885), 17-21, 63-73, and 107-16. In "Menschenwelt," p. 124, Kautsky wrote, "Just as with the social animals, so also with humans the social instincts have been mechanically bred, without the intervention of an idea."

41. "Das winzige Mauslein," "Verschwörung oder Revolution?" "Der Staatssozialismus," *Sozialdemokrat*, 30 January, 20 February, 6 March, 29 September, and 8 December 1881.

42. "Ein materialistischer Historiker," *NZ* 1 (1883), 538-39. This critique of materialist historians of the Enlightenment might well be applied to Kautsky's own work up to 1884.

43. Kautsky to Engels (29 December 1883, 14 February and 12 March 1884, 9 August 1886), Engels to Kautsky (5 February 1885, 11 August 1886), Engels, pp. 91-92, 97-98, 103, 197-99; Blumenberg, pp. 39-40. The straight presentation of Marx is also represented by the series of articles entitled "Das Elend der Philosophie" und "Das Kapital," *NZ* 4 (1886), 7-19, 49-58, 117-29, 157-65.

44. *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx* (London, 1936). Since World War II this book has been reissued in the Soviet Union and many Soviet-bloc states. See Blumenberg, pp. 39-40.

45. "Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie," *NZ* 3 (1885), 179-88, 193-202; "Die Quintessenz des Sozialismus," *NZ* 3 (1885), 515-19; "Aus dem Nachlass von Rodbertus," *NZ* 4 (1886), 258-63; "Juristen-Sozialismus," *NZ* 5 (1887), 48-62. In "Aussichts," Kautsky argued that Schäffle changed his mind about socialism as his personal de-

pendence on the state increased, thus implying both opportunism and cowardice. For Kautsky's denial of the importance of those being criticized, see Kautsky to Bebel (15 December 1885), Bebel, p. 46. For Engels' similar disavowals, see Engels to Laura Lafargue (2 November 1886), Engels, *Lafargue Correspondance*, p. 406.

46. Kautsky to Engels (29 May and 11 October 1884), Engels to Kautsky (26 June and 20 September 1884), Engels, pp. 118-19, 126-27, 144-45, 147; Kautsky to Bebel (8 November 1884, 15 December 1885), Bebel, pp. 25, 46, Engels to Bebel (20-[23] January 1886), Bebel-Engels, pp. 250-51. Vernon I. Lidike, "German Social Democracy and German State Socialism, 1876-1884," *IRSH* 9 (1964), 202-25, gives the background for the anti-Rodbertus debate, concluding that at least among the Reichstag *Fraktion* the appeal of Rodbertus and his followers was significant.

47. Karl Kautsky, "Das 'Kapital' von Rodbertus," "Eine Replik," "Schlusswort," *NZ* 2 (1884), 337-50, 385-402, 494-505, and 3 (1885), 224-32; C. A. Schramm, "K. Kautsky und Rodbertus," "Antwort an Herrn K. Kautsky," *NZ* 2 (1884), 481-94, and 3 (1885), 218-23.

48. Review of Anon., *Die Aristokratie des Geistes als Lösung der Sozialen Frage*, *NZ* 3 (1885), 90-92. As early as 6 July 1882, in "Phakenthum," *Sozialdemokrat*, Kautsky had argued that Darwin himself had suggested that humans were not inalterably bound to act in accordance with the same natural laws that governed the lives of animals. He eventually added to his general observation about the inapplicability of natural-scientific laws to social situations when he specifically denied that Marxism and Darwinism were related. "Sozialismus und Darwinismus," *Oesterreichischer Arbeiterkalender für das Jahr 1890*, pp. 49-54, cited in Steinberg, *Sozialismus*, p. 42, and Gasman, *Scientific Origins*, pp. 123-24. See also "Darwinismus und Marxismus," *NZ* 13 (1894-95), 709-16.

49. See chapter 2, "First Publications," for Kautsky's earlier views.

50. "Die chinesischen Eisenbahnen und das europäische Proletariat," *NZ* 4 (1886), 537. "Kommunistische Kolonien," *NZ* 5 (1887), 30.

51. "Nonzen," "Statistische Revue," *NZ* 1 (1883), 245-46, 388-89; "Die Erhaltung des Kleinbauernstandes," *NZ* 3 (1885), 321-29; "Die technische Entwicklung," *NZ* 5 (1887), 510-15; "Statistische Schönfärberei," *NZ* 6 (1888), 29-34; "Herrn Dr. Stiebling's Theorie der Wirkungen der Kapitalsverdrängung," *NZ* 6 (1888), 164-69; "Die Verschwendung in der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise," *NZ* 7 (1889), 25-35 (the quote is from p. 26).

52. "Soll Deutschland Kolonien gründen?" *Staatswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen* 1 (1879-80), 394-400; Kautsky to Engels (11 May 1882), Engels, p. 56. See also "Kommunistische Kolonien," *Sozialdemokrat*, 27 March and 3 April 1881, in which Kautsky flatly rejected colonization and emigration as parts of the socialists' program.

53. "Auswanderung und Kolonisation I," *NZ* 1 (1883), 965-70; "Tongking," review of R. E. Jung, *Deutsche Kolonien* (Leipzig, 1884), and "Das Recht auf Arbeit," *NZ* 2 (1884), 156-64, 237-39, 300; "Die deutsche Auswanderung," *NZ* 3 (1885), 253-57.

54. "Auswanderung II," *NZ* 1 (1883), 393-404; "Die sozialen Triebe in der Menschenwelt," *NZ* 2 (1884), 118-24; "Die Indianerfrage," *NZ* 3 (1885), 17-20; "Kamerun," *NZ* 6 (1888), 15-26.

55. "Auswanderung II," *NZ* 1 (1883), 404; "Tongking," *NZ* 2 (1884), 158, 163-64; "Indianerfrage," *NZ* 3 (1885), 116; "Kamerun," *NZ* 6 (1888), 27.

56. "Der Übergang von der kapitalistischen zur sozialistischen Produktionsweise," *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 1:2 (1880), 59-60; Kautsky to Engels (18 August 1884), Engels to Kautsky (22 August 1884), Engels, pp. 140-42; Kautsky to Adler (15 March and 7 June 1887), Adler, pp. 29-33. Lenin's dictum was that on their own the workers are capable of developing only trade-union consciousness. See *What is to Be Done?* (Moscow, 1917), p. 42. In this work (first published in 1902), Lenin quoted at

length some "profoundly true and important utterances by Karl Kautsky" (p. 51) on the subject of the need for supervision in the development of the workers' socialist consciousness.

57. Kautsky to Engels (7 and 29 April 1884), Engels, pp. 106-07, 112-13. Steinberg, *Sozialismus*, pp. 48-49, correctly pointed out that much of Kautsky's early writing on the future state was typically utopian-socialistic—paying more for unpleasant than for pleasant work, using technology to eliminate repellent work, gradually equalizing wages, etc. See "Die Vertheilung des Volks-Einkommens im Zukunftsstaate," *Der Sozialist*, 27 and 31 October 1878, "Die Vertheilung des Arbeitsertrages im sozialisten Staate," *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 2 (1881), 88-98. But even this speculation was tempered by a measure of realism. In "Übergang," pp. 59-68, he argued that the transitional institutions would have to be based on institutions that already existed, that were presently to the advantage of the workers, and that would strengthen socialist inclinations. Thus he rejected state monopolies, because they failed to meet requirements two and three, and producers' co-ops, because they failed to meet requirement three, but accepted trade unions as meeting all three requirements. See also "Die Abschaffung des Staates," *Sozialdemokrat*, 15 December 1881.

58. Kautsky to Engels (6 September 1882), Engels, p. 60; Kautsky to Bebel (15 December 1885, 17 August 1886), Kautsky to H. W. Fabian (2 January 1885), Bebel, pp. 47, 53-54, 364; "Übergang," *Jahrbuch*, 1:2 (1880), 63; "Der Staatssozialismus und die Sozialdemokratie," "Der Staatssozialismus," "Abschaffung," *Sozialdemokrat*, 6 March, 8 and 15 December 1881; "Historiker," *NZ* 1 (1883), 542; "Die chinesischen Eisenbahnen," *NZ* 4 (1886), 518; "Die moderne Nationalität," *NZ* 5 (1887), 403, 405; "Verschwendung," *NZ* 7 (1889), 29; "Bodenbesitzreform und Sozialismus," *NZ* 8 (1890), 397.

59. "Soll Deutschland," *Staats Abhandl.*, 1 (1879-80), 398; "Die Bourgeoisie und die Republik," "Abschaffung," *Sozialdemokrat*, 24 April and 15 December 1881; "Nationalität," *NZ* 5 (1887), 442.

60. "Die chinesischen Eisenbahnen," *NZ* 4 (1886), 516-17; "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Oesterreich," *NZ* 8 (1890), 100.

61. "Verschönerung," "Wahlen und Attentate," *Sozialdemokrat*, 20 February and 5 June 1881; "Die internationale Arbeitsgesetzgebung," *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 2 (1881), 111-12.

62. "Bourgeoisie," "Freiheit," *Sozialdemokrat*, 24 April and 7 July 1881.

63. "Freiheit Antwort an den Genossen A.B.C. [Robert Seidel]," "Klassenkampf und Sozialismus," *Sozialdemokrat*, 8 and 28 September 1881.

64. "Übergang," *Jahrbuch* 1:2 (1880), 61-68; "Darwinismus," *Sozialdemokrat*, 4 April 1880; "Arbeitsgesetzgebung," *Jahrbuch* 2 (1881), 112; "Die Sterblichkeit der Kostkinder," *NZ* 1 (1883), 191-96.

65. Engels, pp. 178-80; *EE&E*, pp. 521-22; *Thomas More and His Utopia* (New York, 1959); *Die Klassegegensätze im Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1908); "Die Entstehung der biblischen Urgeschichte," *Kosmos*, 7 (1883), 201-14; "Zum Luther jubilaum," *NZ* 1 (1883), 489-96; "Die Entstehung des Christentums," *NZ* 1 (1883), 481-99, 529-45; "Die Bergarbeiter und der Bauernkrieg, vornämlich in Thüringen," *NZ* 7 (1889), 289-97, 337-50, 410-17, 443-53, 507-15. Engels had high praise for these last articles. See Engels to Kautsky (15 September 1889), Engels, p. 247.

66. Kautsky to Engels (18 and late August 1887), Engels, pp. 208, 210; *More*, pp. 4, 12, 142, 146, 153, 159, 171, 186, 206-10.

67. Engels to Kautsky (20 February 1889), Kautsky to Engels (26 February 1889), Engels, pp. 232-36.

68. *Klassegegensätze*, pp. 3-5, 9, 10, 23, et passim.

Chapter Four: Challenge from the Right, 1890-1904

1. Julius Braunthal, *History of the International*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967), I, 233, 252; Lichtheim, p. 267. For Kautsky's role in the Hungarian party, the 1903 program of which he drafted, see Tibor Erenyi, "The Activities of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary During the First Decade of the Century," in *Studies on the History of the Hungarian Working-Class Movement, (1867-1966)*, ed. Henrik Vass (Budapest, 1975), pp. 55-88.

2. Erich Matthias and Eberhard Pikart, *Die Reichstagsfraktion der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1898 bis 1918*, pt. 1 (Düsseldorf, 1966), xv-xxii; William H. Machl, *German Militarism and Socialism* (Lincoln, Neb., 1968), pp. 75-78; Schorske, p. 7; Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, 299. For the SPD's place in the politics of Wilhelmine Germany, see Fritz Fischer, *World Power or Decline* (New York, 1974), pp. 5-6; Dieter Groh, *Negative Integration und revolutionärer Attentismus* (Frankfurt, 1973), pp. 331-35, 577-682; Konrad H. Jarausch, *The Enigmatic Chancellor* (New Haven, 1973), pp. 47-49, 89-91, 106-08, 208-09, 439-40 n. 27; George D. Crothers, *The German Elections of 1907* (New York, 1941).

3. Kautsky to Engels (16 February, 6 April 1892), Engels, pp. 329, 336. Kautsky to Adler (15 October 1892), Kautsky to Emma Adler (22 March 1893), Adler, pp. 106, 194; Kautsky to Luise (13 September 1896), KFA 35; Kautsky to Max Zetterbaum (30 October 1893), KFA 8; Kautsky to Paul Ernst (20 December 1893), KFA, 8.

4. Kautsky to Engels (21 December 1890, 5 April 1891, 19 February 1892), Engels, pp. 267, 291, 329, 453; Adler to Kautsky (19 May 1887), Kautsky to Adler (13 December 1892), Adler, pp. 31, 114; Kautsky to Bernstein (2 February 1896), KA, C115.

5. Kautsky to Engels (3 July 1890), Engels, p. 257; Kautsky to Luise (7 May 1896), KFA 35.

6. Kautsky to Engels (18 February 1891, 23 January 1892), Engels, pp. 278, 325; Kautsky to Luise (24 August 1891), KFA 35. The first child was named Felix; the third son, Benedikt, was born in 1894.

7. Kautsky to Engels (25 November 1890, 5 April 1891, 19 May, 11 October 1893), Engels to Kautsky (7 April 1891, 3 November 1893), Engels, pp. 264, 291-92, 381, 388-91, Kautsky to Adler (13 October 1893), Adler, pp. 121-23; Kautsky to Luise (26 August 1893), KFA 35. Bruno Schoenlank (1859-1901) was the editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (1893-1901), a co-worker on the *Vorwärts* (1892), and an SPD Reichstag representative (1893-1901); Franz Mehring (1846-1919) was the most prolific of contributors to the *Neue Zeit* until his break with Kautsky in 1912-1913; Max Schippel (1859-1928) was at one time a young radical SPD journalist and later a rightist and a Reichstag representative (1890-1905). See Osterroth, pp. 219-20, 263-64, 267, 269-70.

8. Engels to Kautsky (4 December 1892), Kautsky to Engels (11 October 1893), Engels, pp. 373, 388-89; Kautsky to Adler (26 November 1890, 13 October 1893), Kautsky to Hugo Heller (28 December 1895), Adler, pp. 65, 121-22, 195; Kautsky to Bernstein (several letters from 4 May 1895 through 24 June 1896), KA, C107-38.

9. Engels to Kautsky (4 December 1892), Kautsky to Engels (19 December 1892), Engels, pp. 372-75; Kautsky to Bebel (end of November 1892), Bebel, pp. 80-81; Kautsky to Adler (13 October 1893), Adler, pp. 121-22; Kautsky to Bernstein (25 January 1896), KA, C114.

10. Kautsky to Luise (26 August 1893), KFA 35; Kautsky to Engels (1 and 25 November 1893), Engels, pp. 389-90, 395; Kautsky to Adler (15 October 1892, 13 October, 1 November 1893, 29 April 1894), Adler, pp. 107-08, 122-23, 125-26, 150.

11. Kautsky to Engels (19 December 1892), Engels, pp. 373-75; Kautsky to Luise (2 August 1895), KFA 35.

12. Kautsky to Luise (2 August 1895), KFA 35; Kautsky to Hugo Heller (10 January 1896), KFA 8; *Protokoll*, 1894, pp. 63-84.

13. Tussy Marx (22 and 28 August, 17 September 1895, 3, 10, 20, and 29 February 1896), KA, D XVI, 437-39, 447, 449-51; Kautsky to Bernstein (25 January, 24 and 29 February, 19 and 31 March 1896), KA, C114, 118-20, 123; Kautsky to Hugo Heller (28 December 1895, 23 March 1896), Adler to Kautsky (27 March 1896), Adler, pp. 198, 205-07.

14. Kautsky to Luise (12 March, 28, 29, and 30 April, 7 May 1896), KFA 35; Kautsky to Bernstein (19 March 1896), KA, C120; Tussy Marx to Kautsky (1 April, 20 May 1896), KA, D XVI, 452, 455; Kautsky to Adler (18 April 1896), Adler, pp. 203-04.

15. Kautsky to Adler (13 June, 15 October 1892, 25 October 1901, 4 April 1903), Adler, pp. 92-93, 107-09, 375, 415-16. For a precise summary of Kautsky's view of the function of socialist intellectuals, see "Akademiker und Proletarier," NZ 19:2 (1900-01), 89-91. For an earlier, more elaborate discussion, see "Die Intelligenz und die Sozialdemokratie," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 10-16, 43-49, 74-80.

16. Kautsky to Engels (9 April 1890, 25 November 1893), Engels, pp. 254, 395; Kautsky to Adler (13 October 1893, 12 November 1896), Adler, pp. 121, 222; Kautsky to Luise (7 and 9 October 1895, 16 September 1902), KFA 35; Polizeipräsident, Abteilung I (Berlin) to Kautsky (14 January 1919), KFA 5. The items to Luise cited here were written while Kautsky was at party congresses; he almost always wrote this correspondence to Luise in English. I have edited these letters and postcards for punctuation, but not for grammar or vocabulary. The communication from the head of the local police announced that a payment of 150 marks had to be made before the application for citizenship could be processed. Kautsky did once begin the process of becoming a citizen while he was in Stuttgart, but it came to nothing. See Kautsky to Hugo Heller (31 March 1897), Adler, p. 230.

17. Kautsky to Engels (25 November 1893), Engels, p. 395. In a letter to Engels of 19 May 1892 Kautsky reported that Dietz considered him an "incorrigible optimist." Engels, pp. 381-82.

18. *Protokoll*, 1887, p. 47; *Protokoll*, 1890, pp. 158-59, 181.

19. Kautsky to Engels (8 September 1890), Engels to Kautsky (18 September 1890, 7 January, 23 February 1891), Engels, pp. 260-61, 268, 281-83.

20. Kautsky to Bernstein (8 January 1891), KA, C81.

21. Kautsky to Engels (8 and 13 January 1891), Engels to Kautsky (15 January 1891), Engels, pp. 269-71.

22. Kautsky to Bernstein (29 January 1891), KA, C82.

23. Kautsky to Engels (9 and 18 February, [9 March] 1891), Engels to Kautsky (3 and 23 February 1891), Engels, pp. 272, 276, 278-83, 285-86. Kautsky's conciliatory article was "Unsere Programme," NZ 9:1 (1890-91), 680-90; see also the first few pages of "Der Entwurf des neuen Parteiprogramms," NZ 9:2 (1890-91), 723-25.

24. Kautsky to Engels (6 February 1891), Engels, pp. 273-75.

25. Kautsky to Engels (4 June, 26 September 1891), Engels, pp. 299, 306; Kautsky to Adler (5 August 1891), Adler, p. 96; "Entwurf," NZ 9:2 (1890-91), 726-27, 730, 749-54, 781, 789-91.

26. "Entwurf," NZ 9:2 (1890-91), 750, 753-55.

27. Kautsky to Luise (15 October 1891), KFA 35; Kautsky to Engels (30 October 1891), Engels, p. 316; *Protokoll*, 1891, p. 81.

28. Kautsky to Luise (18 October 1891), KFA 35; *Protokoll*, 1891, pp. 12, 81, 325-33, 358.

29. Kautsky to Bernstein (9 October 1891), KA, C85; Engels to Kautsky (28 September, 14 October, 3 December 1891), Kautsky to Engels (30 October 1891), Engels, pp. 307-10, 312-15, 317.

30. Kautsky to Engels (3 March, 6 April 1892), Engels to Kautsky (5 March 1892),

Engels, pp. 331, 335; *The Class Struggle* (New York, 1971), p. 1. For some reason English translations of this book have usually taken their title from the fifth section, "The Class Struggle." This is inappropriate and unfortunate, because *The Erfurt Program* is much more than a discussion of the class struggle.

31. *Class Struggle*, pp. 9-87, 90, 122, 127-29, 132, 135-48, 158.

32. *Ibid.*, 90-93, 159, 177, 186-88. The charge of cryptorevisionism was made by Matthias, "Kautsky," pp. 163-64, 168.

33. Tussy Marx to Kautsky (22 August 1895, 30 September, 7 October 1896), KA, D XVI, 437, 457-58; Kautsky to Luise (2 May 1896), KFA 35.

34. Tussy Marx to Kautsky (17 September, 27 December 1895, 19 and 30 April, 20 May 1896), KA, D XVI, 439, 445, 453-55; Engels, p. 453; Blumenberg, p. 69. Kautsky had become close friends with Tussy during his 1880s stay in London, and their correspondence concerning the *Nachlass* is marked by warm friendship and affection. The image of Tussy that comes out of these letters is one of a bright but frustrated woman. Her frequent and touching allusions to the Kautsky children, whom she never met, and her eagerness to have Karl and his family come to London reveal a lonely woman who regretted her own childlessness. Tussy's pseudo-husband, Edward Aveling, was a shady, two-timing schemer who often begged money from Kautsky and many others. Eventually Karl made a virtually direct accusation that Aveling murdered Tussy, who died under strange circumstances in the spring of 1898. See Tussy to Kautsky (20 February, 18 September 1895, 10, 20, and 29 February, 30 September, 7 October 1896, 5 April 1897, 1 January 1898), KA, D XVI, 435, 440, 449-51, 457-58, 464-65, 483; Edward Aveling to Kautsky (5 December 1887, 20 January, 14 February 1888), KFA 2; Kautsky to Adler (9 April 1898), Adler, pp. 244-45. For Tussy's melancholy life story, see Tsuzuki, *Eleanor Marx*.

35. Roger P. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International, 1864-1872* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 19-20, and 29-30. Liebknecht's association with the Saxon People's Party earned him Engels' scorn. Engels once referred to the "primitive middle-peasants of lower Saxony," and argued that the "narrow-minded South German, republican, petty-bourgeois notions systematically drummed into the heads of the workers by Liebknecht are much harder to get rid of" than Lassalleian notions. See Engels to Marx (20 July 1851), Engels to Kugelmann (10 July 1869), Marx-Engels (1960), pp. 66, 267.

36. "Die Bauern und der Sozialismus," *Sozialist*, 7, 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28 November 1878; "Die Agitation unter den Bauern," *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1:2 (1880), 14-25; "Die soziale Frage auf dem Lande," *Staats. Abhand.* (1879-1880), pp. 449-60. Presumably Kautsky wrote the *Jahrbuch* article before leaving Austria. *E&E*, p. 423.

37. Kautsky to Engels (23 July 1881), Engels, p. 35; "Die Zins-Sklaverei des deutschen Bauernthums," "Die Sozialdemokratie und des Bauernthum," "Die revolutionäre Kraft des amerikanischen Kornes," *Sozialdemokrat*, 16 May, 10 and 24 October 1880, "Italiens ökonomische Verhältnisse," *NZ*, 1 (1883), 47-48.

38. For a discussion of the Bund der Landwirte, see Hans-Jürgen Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik und preussischer Konservatismus* (Hanover, 1966), and Sarah R. Tirrell, *German Agrarian Politics After Bismarck's Fall* (New York, 1951).

39. *Protokoll*, 1894, pp. 141-42, 145-46, 148, 157-58.

40. Kautsky to Bernstein (14 November 1894), KA, C102; Kautsky to Engels (14 and 23 November 1894), Engels, pp. 413, 415.

41. Various letters from Kautsky and Ledebour in the *Forwards*, 20, 21, and 25 November, 19 December 1894; Kautsky to Hugo Heller (22 December 1894), Bebel, p. 371; Kautsky, "Das Erfurter Programm und die Landagitation," *NZ*, 13:1 (1894-95),

278. Osterroth, pp. 183-84. See Bebel, pp. 87-90, for Kautsky's letters to the party central committee protesting Ledebour's assault and the efforts of the *Fraktion* to prevent Kautsky from defending himself in the *Vornürts*.

42. Kautsky to Bernstein (14 November 1894), KA, C102; Kautsky to Luise (7 October 1895), KFA 35; Kautsky to Engels (14 November 1894, 30 July 1895), Engels, pp. 413, 443-44; Kautsky to Hugo Heller (6 August 1895), Bebel, p. xxiii; Singer to Adler (26 November 1894), Adler, p. 163.

43. "Das Erfurter Programm," NZ 13:1 (1894-95), 280; "Unser neuestes Programm," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 612-20; "Die Konkurrenzfähigkeit des Kleinbetriebes in der Landwirtschaft," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 485-86, 491.

44. "Unser neuestes Programm," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 559-65, 586-94, 610-13, 621; "Noch einige Bemerkungen zum Agrarprogramm," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 812; "Arbeiterschutz und Bauernschutz," NZ 14:1 (1895-96), 19-21. For a discussion of state socialism, see Kautsky, "Vollmar und der Staatssozialismus," NZ 10:2 (1891-92), 705-13, and "Der Parteitag und der Staatssozialismus," NZ 11:1 (1892-93), 210-21; and Lidtke, "German Social Democracy." For a more detailed discussion of democracy versus the dictatorship of the proletariat, see Kautsky, "Die direkte Gesetzgebung durch das Volk und der Klassenkampf," NZ 11:2 (1892-93), 516-27.

45. Kautsky to Luise (30 September 1895), KFA 35; "Unser neuestes Programm," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 558-59, 613, 616-19, 623; "Noch einige Bemerkungen," NZ 13:2 (1894-95), 812.

46. *Protokoll*, 1895, pp. 100-01, 104-05; Kautsky to Luise (9 October 1895), KFA 35. The entire debate covers pages 98-176 in the *Protokoll*.

47. *Protokoll*, 1895, pp. 109-10, 112-14, 117-19, 121, 124, 126-27. Clara Zetkin also gave a long speech in support of Kautsky's resolution, and she closed with a stirring call for the party to reject the agrarian program and thereby "hold firmly to the revolutionary character of our party" (p. 143). Zetkin's speech met with stormy, prolonged applause. The popularity of her position was reflected in the fact that at this congress she was elected to the party control commission for the first time.

48. *Protokoll*, 1895, pp. 176-77; Kautsky, "Der Breslauer Parteitag und die Agrarfrage," NZ 14:1 (1895-96), 108-13; Bebel to Adler (20 October 1895), Adler, pp. 193-95.

49. Kautsky, *Die Agrarfrage* (Stuttgart, 1899); David, *Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, 1903); Kautsky, "Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft," NZ 21:1 (1902-03), 677-88, 731-35, 745-58, 781-94, 804-19; Hans G. Lehmann, *Die Agrarfrage in der Theorie und Praxis der deutschen und internationalen Sozialdemokratie* (Tübingen, 1970), pp. 113-262, discusses the agrarian question in Germany. I disagree with Lehmann's conclusion that Kautsky was responsible for the failure of the SPD to come up with a good agrarian program. Lehmann overrates the influence of both Kautsky and theory. Heinrich Dade, *Die landwirtschaftliche Bevölkerung des deutschen Reichs um die Wende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 56-57, discusses the 1882 and 1895 census figures. Hellmut Hesselharth, "Der aufkommende Revisionismus in der Bauernfrage und Karl Kautsky," *Marxismus und deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 365-97, is an excellent discussion of Kautsky on the agrarian question. On the south German party, see Paul Fröhlich, "Die süddeutsche Fronde," in Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1925), III, 399-407.

50. *Protokoll*, 1893, pp. 253-69; Kautsky to Engels (11 October 1893), Engels, p. 388; Kautsky to Adler (5 May 1894), Adler, pp. 152-54. Bernstein's position in 1893 was presented in "Die preussischen Landtagswahlen und die Sozialdemokratie," NZ 11:2 (1892-93), 772-78.

51. "Umsturzgesetz und Landtagswahlen in Preussen," NZ 15:2 (1896-97), 275-82;

"Die preussischen Landtagswahlen und die reaktionäre Masse," *NZ* 15:2 (1896-97), 580-90.

52. "Die preussischen Landtagswahlen," *NZ* 15:2 (1896-97), 586.

53. "Was ist ein Kompromiss? Nachlese zur Diskussion über die preussischen Landtagswahlen," *NZ* 16:2 (1897-98), 356-62; *Protokoll*, 1897, pp. 168, 217; Behel to Adler (5 June 1897), Adler, pp. 231-32.

54. For the impact of the Dreyfus and Millerand affairs on international socialism, see Joff, *Second International*, pp. 83-99, and Braunthal, pp. 255-74.

55. "Jaurès' Taktik und die deutsche Sozialdemokratie," *Vorwärts*, 26 July 1899. "Jaurès und Millerand," *Vorwärts*, 1 August 1899; "Eine internationale Umfrage über sozialdemokratische Taktik," *Vorwärts*, 5 October 1899.

56. *Compte rendu sténographique non officiel du cinquième Congrès socialiste international tenu à Paris du 23 au 27 septembre 1900* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 99-170; "Die sozialistischen Kongresse und der sozialistische Minister," *NZ* 19:1 (1900-01), 36-44; "Bürgermeister und Minister," *NZ* 19:2 (1900-01), 794-96; Engels, p. 454.

57. Eduard Bernstein, "Probleme des Sozialismus," *NZ* 15:1 (1896-97), 164-71, 204-12, 303-11, 772-83; *NZ* 15:2 (1896-97), 100-07, 138-43, *NZ* 16:2 (1897-98), 225-32, 388-95.

58. Kautsky, "Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung und der psychologische Antrieb," *NZ* 14:2 (1895-96), 652-59; Kautsky, "Was will und kann die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung leisten?" *NZ* 15:1 (1896-97), 213-18, 228-38, 260-71; Kautsky, "Utopistischer und materialistischer Marxismus," *NZ* 15:1 (1896-97), 716-27; Bax, "Synthetische contra Neumarkistische Geschichtsauffassung," *NZ* 15:1 (1896-97), 171-77; Bax, "Die Grenzen der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung," *NZ* 15:1 (1896-97), 676-87.

59. The standard English treatment of Bernstein is Gay, *Dilemma*. This work dignified the intellectual content of revisionism beyond deserved limits. Gerhard A. Ritter, *Die Arbeiterbewegung im Wilhelminischen Reich, 1890-1900* (Berlin, 1963), called Bernstein's work "Illusionismus," and claimed that the furor over revisionism had little to do with its theoretical content. Calling the latter a "feuilletonistischen popularization of the bourgeois critique of Marxism," Ritter argued that revisionism attracted so much attention simply because it was the first internal critique of Marxism. See Ritter, pp. 196-204, especially p. 197, n.129, where he suggested that Gay misinterpreted revisionism.

60. *Protokoll*, 1899, pp. 94-244; *Protokoll*, 1903, pp. 298-420.

61. *Protokoll*, 1898, pp. 126-30. The Kautsky-Bernstein debate was conducted in the *Neue Zeit*, the *Vorwärts*, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Bernstein only), and in one book by each man, Bernstein's *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (1899) and Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm: Eine Antikritik* (1899). For a particularly straightforward presentation of Kautsky's view of theory, see "Missverständnisse über Missverständnisse," *Vorwärts*, 29 May 1901.

62. Kautsky to Bernstein (30 August 1897), KA, C175 (cited in Holzheuer, *Karl Kautsky's Werk*, pp. 68-69).

63. *Patriotismus und Sozialismus* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 10.

64. Kautsky to Luise (1 May 1896), KFA 35; Kautsky to Bernstein (30 August 1897, 13 and 26 February 1898), KA, C175, 180-81; Adler to Kautsky (9 November 1896), Adler, p. 219; *Protokoll*, 1898, pp. 122-25. For Plekhanov's active role in the revisionism dispute, see Samuel H. Baron, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism* (Stanford, 1963), pp. 164-85; for Luxemburg's role, see Nettl, *Luxemburg*, I, 202-50. Kautsky later remarked that his first perception of Bernstein's antirevolutionary inclinations came late in 1897 from Bernstein's "Menge und das Verbrachen," *NZ* 16:1 (1897-98), 229-37. See

Kautsky to Adler (21 May 1899), Adler, p. 308. Actually Kautsky's first printed criticism of Bernstein was a brief article entitled "Taktik und Grundsätze," *Vorwärts*, 15 October 1898.

65. Kautsky to Linse (9 March 1898), Bebel to Kautsky (9 and 24 September 1898), Kautsky to Hugo Heller (22 September 1898), Bebel, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, 110-11; Tussy Marx to Kautsky (15 March 1898), KA, DXVI, 489; Kautsky to Bernstein (26-27 May 1898), KA, C191; Adler to Kautsky (4 April 1898), Kautsky to Adler (9 April, 4 August 1898), Bebel to Adler (29 September 1898), Adler, pp. 242-43, 245-46, 249, 252.

66. Kautsky to Bernstein (23 October 1898), KA, C209 (reprinted in Adler, pp. 272-73). Gav, *Dilemma*, pp. 79-80, found Kautsky's position at this time "strange if not sinister." I think Kautsky's actions were those of a man who felt he was losing a dear and trusted friend. His first concern was saving Bernstein from personal anguish and disgrace, and there is nothing sinister in that. *Sozialistische Monatshefte* was the major organ of revisionists and reformists in Germany, *Revue socialiste* played a similar role in France.

67. Adler to Bebel (1 November 1898), Bebel to Adler (4 November 1898), Kautsky to Adler (4 November, 23 December 1898), Adler, pp. 266-71, 281-82.

68. Kautsky to Adler (23 December 1898, 7, 8, 17 March 1899), Bernstein to Adler (3 March 1899), Adler to Kautsky (7 March 1899), Bebel to Adler (8 April 1899), Adler, pp. 281-82, 287, 291-95, 301, 307-08.

69. Adler to Kautsky (16 March 1899), Adler to Bernstein (17 March 1899), Adler, pp. 296-97, 299.

70. Kautsky to Adler (17 and 21 March 1899), Adler, pp. 301, 303; "Bernsteins Streitschrift: Die Zusammenbruchstheorie: Liberalismus und Sozialismus, Demokratie und Klassenkampf," *Vorwärts*, 16, 17, and 18 March 1899. Kautsky continued his critique with "Nochmals Bernsteins Streitschrift: Die neueste Lesart der Marxschen Zusammenbruchstheorie: Die demokratische-sozialistische Reformpartei: Unsere Taktik," *Vorwärts*, 8, 11, and 12 April 1899; "Prinzipieller Gegensatz oder Voreingenommenheit? Noch ein Wort zur Diskussion mit Bernstein," *Vorwärts*, 26 April 1899.

71. Bebel to Kautsky (22 March, 3 August 1899), Bebel to Bernstein (3 August 1899), Bebel, pp. 113, 115, 118, Bernstein to Adler (28 March 1899), Bebel to Adler (8 April 1899), Kautsky to Adler (10 April 1899), Adler, pp. 306-09, 312.

72. Bebel to Kautsky (3, 9, 11, 13, and 22 September 1899), Bebel, pp. 118-24, Kautsky to Bernstein (10 February 1900), KA, C242, NZ 18-2 (1899-1900), 160.

73. Kautsky to Adler (25 September 1900), Bebel, xxxvi; Bebel to Adler (8 July 1901), Kautsky to Adler (31 May, 5 and 6 June, 9 September 1901), Adler, pp. 352, 355, 357, 359, 366-67.

74. Bebel to Kautsky (25 October 1901, 9 September 1903), Bebel, pp. 143, 161-62; Kautsky to Adler (9 September, 15 November 1901, 18 October 1904), Adler, pp. 367, 377, 434. In the spring of 1903, Bebel also urged Kautsky to be more critical of David's book on the agrarian question. Kautsky to Adler (4 April 1903), Adler, p. 415.

75. Kautsky to Adler (5 June 1901, 18 October 1904), Adler, pp. 356-57, 432-33.

76. Kautsky to Adler (18 October 1904), Adler, pp. 432-33.

77. "Der Münchener Parteitag," NZ 20:2 (1901-02), 804-09; "Was nun?" NZ 21:2 (1902-03), 389-98; "Klasseninteresse-Sonderinteresse-Gemeininteresse," NZ 21:2 (1902-03), 240-45, 261-74; "Literarische Rundschau," review of Paul Kampffmeyer, *Wahin steuert die ökonomische und staatliche Entwicklung?*, *Vorwärts*, 5 May 1901; "Der Wahlkampf und die Aufgaben des kommenden Reichstages," *Vorwärts*, 30 May, 3 June 1903.

78. "Zum Parteitag," NZ 21:2 (1902-03), 729-39; "Die preussischen Landtagswahlen," NZ 22:1 (1903-04), 225-31; "Wahlkreis und Partei," NZ 22:2 (1903-04), 36-46.

79. "Allerhand Revolutionäres," *NZ* 22:1 (1903-04), 588-98, 620-27, 652-57, 685-95, 732-40.

80. Joll, *Second International*, pp. 100-06; Braunthal, *History*, pp. 276-84.

81. Kautsky to Adler (18 October 1904), Adler, pp. 431-35; *Sixième congrès socialiste international. Compte rendu analytique* (Brussels, 1904), pp. 130-208. Joll's account of the disagreement at Amsterdam includes the observation that Kautsky was "a fanatic who did not believe in compromise." (p. 102). This is an example of the typically extremist evaluations that historians have made of Kautsky. Like most such evaluations, this one is less than judicious. Apparently others in the German party also saw Adler as a "secret" revisionist, including Clara Zetkin. See Behel to Kautsky (29 August 1903), Behel, p. 157.

82. *The Socialist Revolution* (Chicago, 1905); Kautsky to Adler (21 November 1901, 28 January 1903), Adler, pp. 381-82, 412.

83. Kautsky to Adler (4 April 1903), Adler, pp. 416-17.

Chapter Five: Challenge from the Left, 1905-1914

1. For a complete account of these affairs, see Sidney Harcave, *First Blood: The Russian Revolution of 1905* (New York, 1964).

2. For an excellent brief discussion of the SPD and the Russian revolution of 1905, as well as the mass-strike debate, see Schorske, pp. 29-58. See also Richard W. Reichard, "The German Working Class and the Russian Revolution of 1905," *Journal of Central European Affairs* 13 (1953), 136-53.

3. Kautsky to Adler (15 October 1892, 5 June 1901), Adler, pp. 105, 354; Kautsky to Plekhanov (6 October 1904), KA, C525. References to Russia appear in numerous works by Kautsky before 1905, beginning as early as "Deutschland und Russland," *Der Sozialist*, 15 November 1877.

4. Kautsky's relationship with Axelrod has been masterfully dealt with by Abraham Ascher, "Axelrod and Kautsky," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), 94-112. For Plekhanov, see Baton, *Plekhanov*, pp. 1-46, 124-25, 174-76, 225. For Kautsky's praise of Plekhanov, see Kautsky to Engels (15 February 1884, 7 December 1891), Engels, pp. 98, 319; Kautsky to Adler (26 January 1893), Adler, p. 118. Kautsky's *Class Struggle* apparently came out in Russian, in the *Review of the North*, almost immediately after publication in German, though Blumenburg did not refer to this translation. See Engels to Kautsky (15 September 1889), Engels, p. 247.

5. Kautsky to Dietz (probably 1902), Behel, p. xlii. Luxemburg's life is dealt with impressively by J. P. Nettl in an outstanding biography. However, Nettl's treatment of Kautsky is not up to the high standard of the rest of his work, and his discussion of the Kautsky-Luxemburg relationship is one-sided. For a taste of Luxemburg's contacts with the Kautsky family, and for examples of her frequently charming and disarming personal style, see her *Letters to Karl and Luise Kautsky from 1896 to 1918* (New York, 1925).

6. "Die zivilisierte Welt und der Zar," *NZ* 23:1 (1904-05), 614-17.

7. Anon., "Die Politik der russischen Regierung," *Vorwärts*, 10 February 1905; Kautsky, "Die Bauern und die Revolution in Russland," *NZ* 23:1 (1904-05), 670-77.

8. "Die Bauern und die Revolution," *NZ* 23:1 (1904-05), 670-77.

9. "Die Agrarfrage in Russland," *NZ* 24:1 (1905-06), 412-23. Kautsky also forcefully argued this analysis in "Die Folgen des japanischen Sieges und die Sozialdemokratie," *NZ* 23:2 (1904-05), 406-08. In this article he agreed with Luxemburg's comparison of Gleb Struve, a leading Russian socialist-turned-liberal, with Jaurès. Kautsky's popularity in Russian socialist circles at this time is amply testified to by the fact that no less than five different editions of *Das Erfurter Programm* were published in Russia in 1905—two in Moscow, one each in Kiev, Odessa, and St. Petersburg, and another appeared in St.

Petersburg in 1906. For Kautsky's postmortem on the revolution, see "Triebkräfte und Aussichten der russischen Revolution," NZ 25:1 (1906-07), 284-90, 324-33, in which he reiterated his earlier analysis.

10. "Die Differenzen unter den russischen Sozialisten," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 68-69; Kautsky to Engels (8 November 1881); Engels to Kautsky (7 February 1882), Engels, pp. 46-48, 50-53.

11. Kautsky to Michael Lusnia, one of several pseudonyms used by Kelles-Krauz, (4 February 1905), KFA 8. A year after this letter, Kautsky received a request from a Warsaw publisher to print a total of 42,500 copies of seven of his books. Apparently Kautsky's popularity ran high in Poland at this time. See *Towarzystwo Wydawnictw Ludowych* to Kautsky (28 March 1906), KFA 4. For Kautsky's views on Poland vis-à-vis Russia, see "Allerhand Revolutionäres," NZ 22:1 (1903-04), 620-27.

12. "Differenzen," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 69-71; Kautsky to Adler (20 July 1905), Adler, pp. 464-66. For a more detailed discussion of Kautsky and the Menshevik-Bolshevik split, see Ascher, "Axelrod and Kautsky"; Dietrich Geyer, "Die russische Parteispaltung im Urteil der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, 1903-1905," *IRSH* 3 (1958), 195-219, 418-44; Peter Losche, *Der Bolschewismus im Urteil der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, 1903-1920* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 27-34. Kautsky remained in the midst of this split for far longer than he liked, because he was one of the administrators of the famous Schmidt inheritance of the Russian party. See Losche, pp. 60-66.

13. "Differenzen," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 71-79.

14. Hillerding, "Zur Frage des Generalstreiks," NZ 22:1 (1903-04), 134-42. This volume also had five other articles on the general strike, including a five-part series by Kautsky, "Allerhand Revolutionäres," 588-98, 620-27, 652-57, 685-95, 732-40, but none of this had aroused major polemics. The 1904 resolution was presented by Henriette Roland-Holst, and it was only a very cautious expansion of the acceptable limits of the mass strike as a weapon of the working class. See Braunthal, *History*, pp. 285-304, for a discussion of the general strike and the Second International.

15. Schorske, pp. 29-32. For a contemporary discussion of the employers' associations, see Gerhard Kessler, *Die deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände* (Leipzig, 1907).

16. The literature on the tendency of both trade-union and party leadership to become more conservative is vast. A contemporary observer of the SPD wrote insightfully on the topic, Robert Michels, *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie* (Leipzig, 1910). Most studies of the German socialist movement have emphasized this tendency to a greater or lesser extent. See especially Schorske, pp. 8-16. Of course, Kautsky also discussed the tendency to independence and self-preservation among bureaucracies. See chap. 3 above, "Literary Work of the 1880s."

17. For Luxemburg, see Neftl, *Luxemburg*, I, 295-364. I am not suggesting, as does Schorske, that the radical-moderate split as it developed after 1905 was the prelude to and cause of the "great schism" that led to the formation of the German Communist Party. I agree with Dieter Groh's conclusion, in *Negative Integration*, pp. 121-25, 163-85, 482-502, that the war was the source of the schism. It is true that radical-moderate tensions reached new highs after 1905 and persisted until after the war, but a party's position during these years was not a good indication of his or her stand on the war. In a more immediate sense, the cause of the eventual split was a question of party discipline, with the majority forcing the minority to a split. Susanne Miller, *Burgfrieden und Klassenkampf* (Dusseldorf, 1974), pp. 155-56, makes this argument most persuasively.

One exception to the radicals' lack of institutional responsibilities was Clara Zetkin. She was a member of the party control commission after 1905, and she usually aligned herself with the radicals.

18. Centrism was Kautsky's own label for his post-1905 theory. *Fatalismus* was used by Steinberg, but has implications that are too negative to fit Kautsky's position. Matthias labeled Kautsky's theory *Integrationideologie*, but this expression is neither accurate nor useful, since neither the revisionists nor the radicals accepted Kautsky's positions. Groh's *revolutionärer Attentismus* is perhaps the best expression, but it is virtually untranslatable into acceptable English; "revolutionary attentiveness" is best. German writers concerned with Kautsky have long fished around for labels to put on his work. In addition to the four mentioned here, Darwin-Marxism is a favorite. A Frenchman has added another: Guy Desolre, "Henri de Man et le marxisme: Critique critique de la critique," *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 12:31 (1974), 37, called Kautsky's theory "le fatalisme optimiste."

19. Braunthal, *History*, p. 287. Kautsky to Engels (25 November 1893), Engels, p. 394. Kautsky to Adler (26 November 1893, 9 March 1894), Adler, pp. 129-30, 136-37; "Allerhand Revolutionäres," *NZ* 22:1 (1903-04), 685-95, 732-40.

20. Adler to Kautsky (17 May 1902), Kautsky to Adler (19 May 1902), Adler, pp. 395-96. The articles that upset Adler were Mehring, "Ein dunkler Mittag," and Luxemburg, "Das belgische Experiment," *NZ* 20:2 (1901-02), 97-101 and 105-10, respectively. Mehring had introduced the Belgian strike with "Belgien," *NZ* 20:2 (1901-02), 65-69. Vandervelde responded to Luxemburg and Mehring, though mistaking the latter's article for an editorial piece, in "Nochmals das belgische Experiment," *NZ* 20:2 (1901-02), 166-68, to which Kautsky attached a note defending Mehring's tone, and Luxemburg rebutted Vandervelde in "Und zum dritten Male das belgische Experiment," *NZ* 20:2 (1901-02), 203-10, 274-80. This exchange typifies the role of the *Neue Zeit* as a forum for international socialist debate.

21. Kautsky to Adler (19 May 1902), Adler, pp. 396-97.

22. Adler to Kautsky (21 May 1902), Kautsky to Adler (23 May 1902), Adler, pp. 399-402. In his biography of Luxemburg, Nettl accused Kautsky of plagiarizing the idea of impatience on the right and on the left from a 1910 Trotsky letter (I, 433-34). The 1902 quote I have given here clearly shows that Nettl's accusation is false. Kautsky had developed this notion long before 1910. This episode points out one of the few weaknesses of Nettl's otherwise excellent book. He tended to adopt as his own Luxemburg's view of Kautsky. This led him to deal harshly and unfairly with Kautsky, particularly in terms of personality. Dr. Karl Kautsky, Jr., has pointed out other errors in Nettl's treatment of Kautsky in a letter appended to the German edition of the Luxemburg biography (Berlin, 1967), pp. 830-34.

23. Kautsky to Adler (9 June 1902), Adler, pp. 404-05.

24. Henriette Roland-Holst, *Generalstreik und Sozialdemokratie* (1905; rpt. Dresden, 1906), Schorske, pp. 39-42. In theoretical terms the revisionism controversy was far more important than the mass-strike debate, but the latter more clearly revealed contradictions and had a real impact on relations between trade union and party. In part because it focuses on Kautsky, my discussion of the mass-strike conflict differs substantially from Schorske's, who identified Kautsky too glibly with the "radical" position. As will be seen below, Kautsky's position was radical and not-radical at the same time.

25. Kautsky to Adler (20 July 1905), Adler, p. 464. Kautsky, "Genossin Luxemburg über die Gewerkschaften," *Vorwärts*, 18 April 1906, and "Die Genossin Luxemburg und die Gewerkschaften," *Vorwärts*, 5 May 1906.

26. Anon., "Über politischen Streik," *Vorwärts*, 25 June 1905.

27. *Ibid.*

28. "Die Folgen des japanischen Sieges," *NZ* 23:2 (1904-05), 494-95.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 495-99. The party's success in runoff elections declined steadily from a

high of 63 percent (15 of 24) in 1884 to a low of 16 percent (14 of 90) in 1907. The 1912 election reversed this trend when the party won 38 percent (46 of 121). See Matthys and Pikart, *Reichstagfraktion*, p. xxiii.

30. "Folgen," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 493-94. Gay's identification of Kautsky with the pro-mass-strike forces (*Dilemma*, p. 239) is incorrect.

31. Anon., "Unmögliche Diskussion," *Vorwärts*, 19 July 1905; "Ein Hausen Unrichtigkeiten," *Vorwärts*, 20 July 1905; "Debatten über Wenn und Aber," *Vorwärts*, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13 September 1905. Kautsky, "Die Fortsetzung einer unmögliche Diskussion," *Vorwärts*, 1 September 1905, and NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 681-92; "Noch einmal die unmögliche Diskussion," *Vorwärts*, 15 September 1905 (with critical footnotes by the *Vorwärts* editors), and NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 776-85; "Zu den Parteidebatten: Richtigstellung," *Vorwärts*, 16 September 1905; "Der mögliche Abschluss einer unmöglichen Diskussion," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 795-804. For Kautsky on the trade unions, see "Partei und Gewerkschaften," NZ 17:1 (1898-99), 420-23; "Die Neutralisierung der Gewerkschaften," NZ 18:2 (1899-1900), 388-94, 429-33, 457-66, 492-97; "Die Lehren des Bergarbeiterstreiks," NZ 23:1 (1904-05), 772-82; "Der Kongress von Köln," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 309-16; "Partei und Gewerkschaft," NZ 24:2 (1905-06), 716-25, 749-54. The trade unionists' charges against Kautsky were repeated in this last article.

32. *Protokoll*, 1905, pp. 142-43, 285-313. Bebel's speech took the entire morning session.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-42.

34. Schorske, pp. 54-59.

35. *Protokoll*, 1906, pp. 131-32, 232-33, 239-40, 304-05.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 256-62, 305-07.

37. "Allerhand Revolutionäres," NZ 22:1 (1903-04), 620-27, 652-57.

38. Friedrich Stampfer, "Wahlrechtsbewegung und Massenstreik," NZ 24:2 (1905-06), 755-58. Kautsky, "Der mögliche Abschluss," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 796-97, and "Grundsatz oder Plan?", NZ 24:2 (1905-06), 781-82. The *Vorwärts* quote is from "Debatten über Wenn und Aber. V.," 9 September 1905.

39. Kautsky to Adler (2 August 1905), Adler, pp. 466-67; "Zum Parteitag," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 753-55.

40. For the reasons I have given in this paragraph, I do not agree with Dieter Groh's contention (*Negative Integration*, p. 191) that "the knowledge must have been bitter" for Kautsky that the masses were only converted by practice and not theory, and that if the German government were to adopt reformist tactics "à la Lloyd George or Waldeck-Rousseau" the revisionists would gain the upper hand (quoting from Kautsky to Rappaport [8 June 1911], KA, C571). My argument is that Kautsky would have been a reformist himself if the German government had been a responsive one. After the German revolution Kautsky said as much in a letter to his son Benedikt (31 July 1919), Bebel, pp. xxxix-xi.

41. Kautsky to Adler (5 September 1892), Adler, p. 97. For Adler's economic problems, see Julius Braunthal, *Victor und Friedrich Adler* (Vienna, 1965), pp. 32-33, 90-100.

42. Benedikt Kautsky, "Karl Kautsky: Persönliche Erinnerungen an meinen Vater," *Arbeiterkalender*, 1934 (Vienna), pp. 104-05. Kautsky to Bebel (18 July 1913), Bebel, pp. 353-54. Apparently the more spirited Rosa Luxemburg found the Sunday afternoon gatherings somewhat disgusting, as she began to pull away from Kautsky, see Neftl, *Luxemburg*, I, 410.

43. Kautsky to Luise (28 October 1893, 13 February 1911), KFA, 35 and 36.

44. B. Kautsky, "Persönliche," p. 109; Kautsky to Luise (17 July 1910), KFA 36; Luxemburg, *Letters*, pp. 137-39, 154-55, 227-30. Luise Kautsky also wrote a memorial to

Luxemburg, *Rosa Luxemburg. Ein Gedankbuch* (Berlin, 1929). I have relied upon information provided to me in personal interviews with Dr. Karl Kautsky, Jr. Neul's account of the Kautsky's relationship is often highly speculative and rarely substantiated. See *Luxemburg*, especially I, 410-12.

45. Kautsky to Luise (13, 17 March 1907, 19 April 1910), KFA 35 and 36, *Luxemburg, Letters*, pp. 137-38.

46. Bebel to Kautsky (14 July, 5 August 1910, 8, 9, 13 October 1912, 16 July 1913), Kautsky to Bebel (18 July 1913), Bebel to Luise (4 September 1910), Bebel, pp. 220-21, 226, 229-31, 313-14, 317-38, 351-53; Bebel to Adler (12 January 1912), Kautsky to Adler (28 November 1914), Adler, pp. 545, 605. Kautsky's comments on Hildebrand are in "Ein Ketzergericht," and his review of Hildebrand's book, *Sozialistische Auslandspolitik*, NZ, 31:1 (1912-13), 1-6, 36-38, respectively. For the critique of Mehring, see "Ein Vertrauensmann," NZ 31:2 (1912-13), 600-02. For the explanation of Dr. Karl Kautsky, Jr., as to why his father was sometimes called "the Grand Inquisitor" and the "party pope," see Bebel, p. xv.

47. "Die Situation des Reiches," NZ 25:1 (1906-07), 453-57, 459-60, 486-87, 497-98. See also "Ausländische und deutsche Parteitaktik," NZ 25:1 (1906-07), 724-31, 764-73, where Kautsky elaborated his notion that in the wake of the 1907 election, it was even clearer that the bourgeoisie and the workers could not cooperate in Germany.

48. Crothers, *German Elections*, pp. 129-48, 208-53. For the SPD and the election, see Schorske, pp. 59-66.

49. Crothers, *German Elections*, pp. 175-78; Matthias and Pikart, *Reichstagsfraktion*, p. xv. Most of the calculations in this paragraph are my own.

50. "Der 25. Januar," NZ 25:1 (1906-07), 587-96.

51. Kautsky, *Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1923), published in English, less the first 160 pages of volume one, as *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation* (New York, 1959), Kautsky to Engels (5 March 1895), Engels to Kautsky (21 May 1895), Engels, pp. 422-23, 435; Tussy Marx to Kautsky (20 February 1895), KA, DNVI. Engels' study was reprinted in *The German Revolution* (Chicago, 1967); in 1891 Blois edited a new edition of the classic by Wilhelm Zimmermann, *Geschichte des grossen Bauernkriegs*, which first appeared in three volumes in 1841-1843. Belfort-Bax's work was *The Peasant War in Germany* (London, 1899); and Bebel wrote *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg* (Braunschweig, 1876).

52. Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe*, pp. 12, 15, 127, 214-15, 220-21. Abraham Friesen, "The Marxist Interpretation of the Reformation" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1967) has dealt exhaustively with the works of Zimmermann, Engels, Kautsky, and others. Though Friesen is weak on Marxism, and often confuses objective evaluation with debatable epistemological-philosophical positions, his review of the historiography of the tradition is sound. For Kautsky's place in it, see pp. 65-69, 92-93, 230, 253-59, 324-26, 356-57, 384, 390-94, 397, 470-74, 486-87, 560-65, 576-79, and 634.

53. *Foundations of Christianity* (New York, 1953), pp. xi-xiii, originally published as *Der Ursprung des Christentums* (Stuttgart, 1908). This book was one of Kautsky's big money-makers, going through at least thirteen editions in German. For an example of the sort of criticism Kautsky was confronting, see A. K., "Der sogenannte urchristliche Kommunismus," NZ 26:2 (1907-08), 582-91.

54. *Foundations*, pp. xx, 25-59, 138, 146, 253.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. xv, 47-48, 229-48, 250, 258, 264-65, 274, 278. Though this work is now rarely cited in scholarly works on Christianity, it does on occasion appear in the footnotes of studies that attempt to analyze societies in terms of socioeconomic substructures. For an example of this, see Bernard Magubane, "A Critical Look at Indices Used in the Study

of Social Change in Colonial Africa," *Current Anthropology* 12:4-5 (October-December 1971):419-30. *Foundations* is cited on p. 426, where Magubane uses it to substantiate his observation that "social tendencies of a people, therefore, always arise from actual needs within the people, and not through mere imitation of foreign models."

56. Schorske, pp. 88-115. Nettl (*Luxemburg*, I, 408-09) made a particular point of Kautsky's verbal radicalism in *Der Weg zur Macht*. For an earlier discussion of budget non-support, see Kautsky, "Die Budgetbewilligung," *NZ* 26:2 (1907-08), 809-26.

57. The articles in the *Neue Zeit* began on 6 October 1908 with Kautsky's "Maurenbrecher und das Budget," *NZ*, 27:1 (1908-09), 44-50, and continued with Maurenbrecher, "Offener Brief an den Genossen Kautsky," pp. 148-53, ending with Kautsky, "Reform und Revolution: Eine Antwort," pp. 180-91, 220-32, 252-59. A great deal of correspondence concerning the second edition of *Der Weg* was reprinted in Ursula Ratz, ed., "Briefe zum Erscheinen von Karl Kautskys 'Weg zur Macht,'" *IRSH* 12:3 (1967), 432-77. See also Bebel, pp. 202-03, for another important letter from Zetkin to Kautsky. For evidence of the speed and breadth of the circulation of Kautsky's work, see Kautsky to Luise (28 February 1909), KFA 35.

58. *The Road to Power* (Chicago, 1909), pp. 11-12, 30, 54-55; Bebel to Adler (6 March 1909), Adler, p. 495.

59. *Road*, pp. 25, 27, 30, 45-46, 66, 70-72.

60. Kautsky to Hugo Haase (14, 19, and 25 February 1909), in Ratz, "Briefe," pp. 438, 440, 449; Kautsky to Adler (7 and 9 March 1909), Adler, pp. 496-98; Bebel to Kautsky (2 March 1909), Bebel, pp. 202-03; Kautsky to Luise (28 February 1909), KFA 35.

61. Kautsky to Adler (26 September 1909), Adler, pp. 501-02.

62. For conflicting discussions of the effects on the SPD of the break up of the Bulow bloc, see Schorske, pp. 146-96, and Groh, *Negative Integration*, pp. 121-185.

63. Nettl, *Luxemburg*, I, 416-34. Kautsky, "Eine neue Strategie," *NZ* 28:2 (1909-10), 335-36. Dr. Karl Kautsky, Jr., felt very strongly that Luxemburg had used her friendship with his mother to attack his father. See Bebel, pp. xlv and 192 (letter 139 n.1).

64. Kautsky's part in the debate consisted of the following articles in the *Neue Zeit* 28:2 (1909-10): "Was nun?" pp. 33-40, 68-80, "Eine neue Strategie," pp. 332-41, 364-74, 412-21, "Zwischen Baden und Luxemburg," pp. 652-67, and "Schlusswort," pp. 760-65. Luxemburg's first article, "Was weiter?" appeared in the *Dortmunder Arbeiterzeitung*, 15 March 1910, to the above issue of the *Neue Zeit* she contributed "Ermattung oder Kampf?" pp. 257-66, 291-305, "Die Theorie und Praxis," pp. 564-78, 626-42, and "Zur Richtigstellung," pp. 756-60.

65. Kautsky to Minna Kautsky (11 July 1910), Bebel to Kautsky (14 and 18 July, 5 August 1910), Bebel, pp. 220-22, 226; Kautsky to Luise (15 and 21 July, 3 August 1910), KFA 36.

66. "Zwischen Baden und Luxemburg," *NZ* 28:2 (1909-10), 665-67. Later Kautsky referred to himself, Eckstein, Cunow, Bebel, and Hilferding as the "Marxist center." Kautsky to Adler (26 June 1913), Adler, p. 573.

67. Bebel to Kautsky (5 August 1910), Bebel to Luise (4, 12, and 29 September 1910), Bebel, pp. 226, 229-31, 233-37; Kautsky to Luise (7 September-15 November 1910, numerous letters), KFA 36. On several occasions during the next two years, Bebel, who at over seventy had slowed down somewhat himself, cautioned Kautsky against overworking again. See Bebel to Kautsky (30 August 1911) and Bebel to Luise (16 March 1912), Bebel, pp. 269-70, 291.

68. For mass action, see "Die Aktion der Masse," *NZ* 30:1 (1911-12), 43-49, 77-84, 106-17. For the mass strike, see *Der politische Massenstreik* (Berlin, 1914). For the 1912 elections, see "Praktische Wahlagitation," *NZ* 29:2 (1910-11), 32-36; "Die Revanche der

Niedergerittenen," *NZ* 30:1 (1911-12), 545-49. "Die Wurzeln des Sieges," *NZ* 30:1 (1911-12), 577-81; "Der neue Liberalismus und der neue Mittelstand," *Vorwärts*, 25 February 1912; "Nochmals der neue Mittelstand," *Vorwärts*, 8 March 1912. "Unser Stichwahlabkommen," *Vorwärts*, 5, 6, and 7 March 1912. Kautsky's clearest, most straightforward discussion of the validity for Marxists of electoral alliances came in an article entitled "Der erste Mai und der Kampf gegen den Militarismus," *NZ* 30:2 (1911-12), 100-06.

69. John A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (London, 1910); Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York, 1933); Rudolf Hilferding, *Das Finanzkapital* (Frankfurt, 1968). Kautsky's praise for Hilferding's book is in "Finanzkapital und Krisen," *NZ* 29:1 (1910-11), 764-72, 797-804, 838-46, 874-83. For contrasting discussions of Kautsky on imperialism, see John H. Kautsky, "J. A. Schumpeter and Karl Kautsky: Parallel Theories of Imperialism," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 5:2 (May 1961), 101-28; and Ursula Ratz, "Karl Kautsky und die Abrüstungskontroverse in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie," *IRSH* 11 (1966), 197-227. For Kautsky's rejection of the identity of imperialism and capitalism, see "Der Imperialismus," *NZ* 32:2 (1913-14), 908. Although not published until 11 September 1914, this article was written some weeks before the war in anticipation of the 1914 congress of the Second International that never met.

70. "Ältere und neuere Kolonialpolitik," *NZ* 16:1 (1897-98), 769-81, 801-16; "Sozialistische Kolonialpolitik," *NZ* 27:2 (1908-09), 35-36. Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 272-77, deals with Kautsky's attitude toward the threat of war in the few years before 1914. Chickering errs on three points. First, he misunderstands Kautsky's general attitude toward the SPD's relationship to German society: Kautsky did not encourage the SPD "to insulate itself as far as possible from capitalist society," as Chickering writes (p. 266). Second, Kautsky's views had not undergone a "dramatic change" by 1911, as Chickering claims (p. 273), because the SPD theorist had long argued that aggressive expansionism and its threat of war were not part of industrial capitalism (see, "Ältere und neuere Kolonialpolitik" cited above). And third, Chickering suggests that the different role assigned to finance capital by Kautsky, on the one hand, and the bourgeois pacifist Alfred Fried, on the other, was "of peripheral significance" (p. 276, n. 1981). But like most Marxists, and unlike most bourgeois pacifists, Kautsky steadfastly argued that finance capital increasingly dominated commercial and industrial capital (see, for instance, *The Social Revolution*). The role of finance capital was, therefore, hardly peripheral to Kautsky's position. In placing more emphasis after 1910 on the need for the SPD to cooperate with bourgeois antiwar forces, Kautsky was reaffirming his long-held conviction that the nonsocialists in German society did not form "one reactionary mass" and giving further expression of his conviction that politics were often paramount.

71. "Patriotismus, Krieg und Sozialdemokratie," *NZ* 23:2 (1904-05), 346, 348; "Patriotismus und Sozialdemokratie," *Vorwärts*, 16 December 1905; "Kriegsursachen," *Vorwärts*, 18 February 1906. *Patriotismus und Sozialdemokratie* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 11-13. This last was a reprint of articles which originally appeared in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 4, 6, and 7 May 1907.

72. *Patriotismus*, pp. 9, 22-23; "Der Kongress von Kopenhagen," *NZ* 28:2 (1909-10), 775-76; "Weltpolitik, Weltkrieg und Sozialdemokratie" (written for the party central committee in mid-August, 1911), in *Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 356-61; "Der Baseler Kongress und die Kriegshetze in Oesterreich," *NZ* 31:1 (1912-13), 339-40.

73. Kautsky, *Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik* (Berlin, 1907); Bebel to Kautsky (15 October 1907), Bebel, pp. 190-91.

74. Vandervelde, "Die belgischen Sozialisten und die Kongofrage," NZ 27:2 (1908-09), 732-39; *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress, Stuttgart, 1907* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 24-40. Kautsky, "Der Stuttgarter Kongress," NZ 27:2 (1908-09), 724-30.

75. "Methoden der Kolonialverwaltung," NZ 26:1 (1907-08), 616, 621; "Sozialistische Kolonialpolitik," NZ 27:2 (1908-09), 36-38; "Banditenpolitik," NZ 30:1 (1911-12), 2; *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress*, pp. 34-35. For further commentary on this topic, see "Ein Buch über Zentralafrika," NZ 31:2 (1912-13), 371-78; "Armee und Volk," NZ 32:1 (1913-14), 402-05.

76. "Patriotismus, Krieg und Sozialdemokratie," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 365-66; "Der erste Mai," NZ 30:2 (1911-12), 106-07, 109. *Patriotismus*, p. 20. Ratz, "Abrüstung," p. 220, identifies this change in Kautsky as the point at which "the Marxist criterion for judgment of war was no longer that of social democracy." This strikes me as an arbitrary, *ex post facto* evaluation of the nature of Marxism, i.e., after the Russian experience. Before the Russian model emerged, the possible developments of Marxism covered a much wider spectrum than they seem to now. Ratz also suggests that by arguing that disarmament could work, Kautsky was implicitly accepting the possibility of peaceful imperialism (p. 205). I think that Kautsky was simply responding to the immediate pressures of the time, namely the increasing threat of war, and that he still felt imperialism to be dangerous and something to be eliminated.

77. "Patriotismus," NZ 23:2 (1904-05), 369-70; *Patriotismus*, pp. 4-5; "Krieg und Frieden," NZ 29:2 (1910-11), 104; "Der erste Mai," NZ 30:2 (1911-12), 108-09.

78. Kautsky to Adler (25 July 1914), Adler, pp. 596-97.

79. Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg* (Prague, 1937), pp. 436-80; Groh, *Negative Integration*, pp. 630, 640, 642-43, 675-84.

80. Kautsky to Adler (28 November 1914), Adler, p. 606; *Sozialisten und Krieg*, p. 460. Groh, *Negative Integration*, pp. 676, 692-93, 695-96, 698.

Chapter Six: The Great War and Two Revolutions, 1914-1924

1. "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 1-2; "Die Vorbereitung des Friedens," NZ 32:2 (1913-14), 876-77; "Neue sozialdemokratische Auffassung vom Krieg," NZ 35:1 (1916-17), 321-24. Kautsky presented variations and expansions on the themes outlined here in numerous works during the war years. See especially "Die Internationalität und der Krieg," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 225-50, and the introduction to the pamphlet from this article, published by Dietz in December 1914, *Nationalstaat, Imperialistischer Staat und Staatenbund* (Nürnberg, 1915); "Äussere und innere Politik," NZ 34:1 (1915-16), 20-25, 41-49; "Noch einige Bemerkungen über nationale Triebkräfte," NZ 34:1 (1915-16), 705-13.

2. "Der Krieg" and "Wirkungen des Krieges," NZ 32:2 (1913-14), 844, 947-48; "Internationalität," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 243; "Eine Richtungsstellung," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 634-36; Kautsky to Adler (28 November 1914, 11 February 1915), Adler, pp. 606-07, 611.

3. "Vorbereitung," NZ 32:2 (1913-14), 881-82; "Wirkungen," NZ 33:2 (1913-14), 981; "Die Internationale und der Burgfrieden," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 18-19; "Internationalität," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 225-26, 237-38, 248-49. Some of the evidence Kautsky used to substantiate his claim that the International was not dead was not very concrete. See "Aus der Parter Danksagung," *Forwards*, 20 October 1914, where he argued that the many birthday greetings he had received from foreign socialists "prove that the supposedly dead International lives and gladly grasps every opportunity to announce its continuity."

1. Adler to Kautsky (20 March 1915), Adler, p. 617. So as not to be caught unprepared when the war ended, on 28 August 1914, Kautsky launched what he hoped would be a major discussion of the impending peace, see "Vorbereitung," NZ 32:2 (1913-14), 876-82.

5. "Internationale," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 19, "Internationalität," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 225, 246; *Internationalität*, pp. 2-5 (introduction); "Sozialdemokratische Anschauungen über den Krieg vor dem jetzigen Kriege," NZ 35:1 (1916-17), 300-01. Kautsky developed this critique most fully between April and July 1915, in two long polemics with Heinrich Cunow and Eduard David in NZ 33:2 (1914-15). For the Cunow debate, see "Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen," pp. 33-42, 71-81, 107-16, 138-46; "Nochmals unsere Illusionen," pp. 230-41, 264-75; "Zum Schluss der Diskussion," pp. 347-48. For the David debate, see "Eine Verteidigung der Zustimmung zu den Kriegskrediten," pp. 313-17; "Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg," 321-29; "Wohin geht die Reise?" pp. 394-402; "Ein objektiver Richter und gewissenhafter Historiker," pp. 453-63; "Ein Schlusswort," pp. 566-73. The two works that set Kautsky off against the *Umlerner* were Paul Lensch, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1915), and Heinrich Cunow, *Partei-Zusammenbruch? Ein offenes Wort zum inneren Parteistreit* (Berlin, 1915).

6. For Kautsky's efforts to combat the rise of national hatred among socialists, see "Eine Erörterung des Rechts auf Erörterung," NZ 33:1 (1914-15), 737-40; "Zwei Schriften," NZ 33:2 (1914-15), 34-38; "Ein objektiver Richter," NZ 33:2 (1914-15), 459, 461-63; "Imperialistische Tendenzen in der Sozialdemokratie," NZ 34:1 (1915-16), 97-101; "Von Radek zu Bethmann," NZ 34:2 (1915-16), 473-80; "Wie englische Arbeiter deutsche Sozialdemokraten von einem internationalen Kongress ausschlossen," NZ 34:2 (1915-16), 618-20; "Die Wahrheit auf dem Marsch," NZ 35:1 (1916-17), 169-75.

7. For evidence of the Kautsky-Bernstein cooperation during the war, see "Das Gebot der Stunde: Aufruf Bernsteins, Kautskys und Haases," *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 19 June 1915, reprinted in Eugen Prager, *Geschichte der U.S.P.D.* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 72-74. "Aus der Partei: Bernstein und Kautsky über ihren Aufruf," *Vorwärts*, 11 July 1915; "Ein Phantasie-Interview mit Kautsky und Bernstein," *Vorwärts*, 25 February 1916. After the war Kautsky and Bernstein remained on close personal terms and the years of split were largely forgotten. Kautsky had high praise for his old friend; see "Eduard Bernstein zu seinem funfundsechzigsten Geburtstag," *Die Gesellschaft* 2 (1925), 1-22. Here Kautsky identified 1912 as the turning point, when Bernstein reestablished a closer relationship with the *Neue Zeit*, but the war years brought closer personal relations.

8. Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 30-31, 34; "Zwei Schriften," NZ 33:2 (1914-15), 76-80, 108-16; "Illusionen," NZ 33:2 (1914-15), 230-41, 264-75. In 1918, Kautsky wrote a longer refutation of the *Umlerner*, this time focusing on the work of Karl Renner. See *Kriegsmarxismus: Eine theoretische Grundlegung der Politik der 4. August* (Vienna, 1918).

9. Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 93-96; Kautsky, *Mein Verhältnis zur Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratischen Partei* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 3-8.

10. These articles were published as a pamphlet in early 1916 along with polemical responses by Otto Braun and Hans Marckwald, whose contributions had also first appeared in the *Neue Zeit*. This pamphlet, *Überzeugung und Partei*, was published by the left-wing Leipzig party publishing house. For Kautsky's introduction, see pp. 5-6.

11. *Überzeugung*, pp. 7-11.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13, 17-20.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 37, 41-42. Kautsky continued these arguments through the rest of 1916. See in NZ 34:2 (1915-16): "Die Spaltung der Fraktion," pp. 33-36; "Eine mahnende Erinnerung," pp. 65-71; "Zur Geschichte des Zentralorgans der Partei," pp.

321-31, 353-65. He also admitted in late 1916 that the original tactics he had espoused in response to the war had been based on several false assumptions. See "Mein Irrtum," *NZ* 35:1 (1916-17), 216-20.

14. A party conference was held in late September 1916, and though representation procedures greatly favored supporters of the *Fraktion* majority, and though very little was resolved, Kautsky was gratified that at least a split had been avoided. See "Die Parteikonferenz," *NZ* 35:1 (1916-17), 1-5. For an account of this conference, see Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 108-14.

15. *Die Befreiung der Nationen* (Stuttgart, 1917), p. 5.

16. "Die Vorbereitung des Friedens," *NZ* 32:2 (1913-14), 876-77; "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege," *NZ* 33:1 (1914-15), 4. *Nationalstaat*, pp. 10-11, 14. The long quote is from p. 11.

17. *Nationalstaat*, pp. 17-21. Kautsky continued to combat the economic arguments of the right throughout the war. See "Äussere und innere Politik," *NZ* 34:1 (1915-16), 47-48.

18. "Äussere," *NZ* 34:1 (1915-16), 43. For Kautsky's discussion of the cases of particular nations, see "Das neue Polen," *NZ* 35:1 (1916-17), 153-56, 177-89, and *Serbien und Belgien in der Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1917). In *Die Vereinigten Staaten Mitteleuropas* (Stuttgart, 1916), Kautsky used a review of Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteleuropa* as a basis from which to attack those socialists, like Karl Renner, who sympathized with Naumann's position.

19. *Nationalstaat*, pp. 70, 75-77; *Staaten*, pp. 43-45; "Noch einige Bemerkungen über nationale Triebkräfte," *NZ* 34:1 (1915-16), 710-11.

20. *Nationalstaat*, pp. 8-9. Of course soviets had appeared in Russia in 1905, but Kautsky did not then comment in any depth on their significance.

21. For evidence of the assault by the majority on the opposition, see Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 39-40, 52-55, 87-91, 93-96, 102-04, 116-20, 129-31.

22. Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 67-75, 93-96, 124-29, 133-36 (Kautsky's manifesto is reprinted on pp. 127-29); Robert F. Wheeler, "The Independent Social Democratic Party and the Internationals" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1970), pp. 14-16.

23. The articles, which ran in the issues of 23 February, 9, 16, and 23 March 1917, *NZ* 35:1 (1916-17), are: "Parteisplaltung?" pp. 489-98; "Sozialdemokratie und nationalliberale Taktik," pp. 537-45; "Die Wendung zum Nationalsozialismus im Kriege," pp. 561-69; "Zwei Arbeiterparteien," pp. 585-91.

24. "Der imperialistische Krieg," *NZ* 35:1 (1916-17), 449-54, 475-87. This article appeared in the issues of 9 and 16 February 1917.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 478-80, 482, 484, 486-87. Kautsky made these same arguments again on 4 May in "Imperialismus und reaktionäre Masse," *NZ* 35:2 (1916-17), 102-15. Here he railed against those Marxists who saw theory not as a guide to lead them through the labyrinth of reality, but as a magic formula which allowed them to skip the labyrinth and get right to the ends. "Theoretical abstraction," he wrote, "is the way, the only way, to deeper understanding of reality, it is not its pure image" (p. 104).

26. Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 143-51; USPD, *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages* (Berlin, 1917), pp. 12, 16-23, 38, 49-50, 52-53, 55-58. Many years later, participants in the Gotha congress of 1917 were still debating the true nature of this event. Early in 1930, Kautsky and Wilhelm Dittmann exchanged letters on this topic. Dittmann argued forcefully that the split had already occurred *before* the congress and that it was the result of expulsions of antiwar socialists by the SPD central committee. Kautsky had apparently sought Dittmann's opinion on the question of whether or not the formation of a new party was a foregone conclusion before the congress. Dittmann thought so, at least from

a 1980 perspective; Kautsky thought not. See Dittman to Kautsky (19 February 1930), KFA 2.

27. USPD, *Protokoll*, 1917, pp. 61-67, 73-74, 76, 79-82; Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 147-51.

28. USPD, *Protokoll*, 1917, p. 86.

29. "Die Gothaer Konferenz," NZ 35:2 (1916-17), 50-53.

30. Kautsky to Axelrod (3 October 1917), Axelrod to Kautsky (10 October 1917), 16:5-88, Nicolaevsky Collection, Hoover Institution, Stanford, California; "Stockholm," NZ 35:2 (1916-17), 505-12; Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 157-60; Wheeler, "Independent Social Democratic Party," pp. 47-64, Bundesarchiv, Coblenz, R43F:film 2714/Bd. 2447, Staatssekretär Reichsjustizamt an Reichskanzler (23 August 1917). I am indebted to Jim Robertson for providing me with this last item.

31. Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 154-55; Kautsky to Adler (4 October 1917), Adler, pp. 640-42. Kautsky's prophecy of decline in the subscribers to the *Neue Zeit* was correct, but since the decline had started at the beginning of the war, it was not a particularly drastic event when, after Kautsky's departure, the subscription list went from about 4,800 to 3,000. The decline through the war years was typical of most of the party journals, while the *Neue Zeit* drop in late 1917 was unique. See *Protokoll*, 1914-17, p. 25, and *Protokoll*, 1919, p. 36. By late 1920, the *Neue Zeit* still had not recovered many of the lost subscribers, and by 1924 the journal had come to an end; see *Protokoll*, 1920, pp. 48-49.

32. *Kriegsmarxismus* (Vienna, 1918); *Volksherrschaft oder Gewaltherrschaft* (Berlin-Bern, 1918), also published in Berlin under the title *Demokratie oder Diktatur, Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (Vienna, 1918); *Sozialdemokratischen Bemerkungen zur Übergangswirtschaft* (Leipzig, 1918).

33. Charles B. Burdick and Ralph H. Lutz, eds., *The Political Institutions of the German Revolution, 1918-1919* (New York, 1966), pp. 70-72 (cabinet meeting of 18 November 1918); Kautsky, "Die Friedensbedingungen," *Freiheit*, 11 May 1919, no. 224; Kautsky to Theodore Dan (23 April 1919), KFA 8.

34. *Staaten*, pp. 54-55.

35. "Eispalast," NZ 35:2 (1916-17), 609-13.

36. "Die Aussichten der russischen Revolution," NZ 35:2 (1916-17), 9-11. This number of the *Neue Zeit* was dated 6 April 1917.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-20.

39. Lenin's major contribution to this debate will be dealt with below. Trotsky's major contribution was *Terrorism and Communism: Anti-Kautsky* (1920; rpt. Ann Arbor, 1961) which was a response to Kautsky's *Terrorism and Communism* (1919; rpt. London, 1920). Kautsky responded to Trotsky's book with *Von der Demokratie zur Staats-Sklaverei* (Berlin, 1921). Karl Radek also wrote a response to Kautsky, *Proletarian Dictatorship and Terrorism* (Detroit, 1921). Kautsky wrote two other major attacks on the Bolsheviks, *Die proletarische Revolution und ihr Programm* (Berlin, 1922), translated into English, less the first 63 pages, as *The Labour Revolution* (London, 1925) and *Bolshevism at a Deadlock* (New York, 1931). Kautsky also wrote numerous shorter critiques of the twists and turns of Soviet affairs; these may be found in Blumenberg, pp. 108-33. Of special interest to American readers is one of the shorter critiques which was reprinted in numerous forms in this country, *Communism and Socialism* (New York, 1932), originally published as *Kommunismus und Sozialdemokratie* (Berlin, 1932).

40. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* was first published in Vienna in 1918. Large parts of it appeared in Berlin in 1918 under the titles *Volksherrschaft oder Gewaltherrschaft*, *Demokratie oder Diktatur*, and *Der neue Staat*. In 1919, it was reissued, in part, under the title *Gegen die Diktatur*. In addition to the articles in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* and the

Sozialistische Auslandspolitik, a variation on *Dictatorship* appeared in the Austrian journal *Der Kampf* (8:209-14) in 1920. Lenin's preface and the editor's notes to *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (Peking, 1970) review Lenin's attacks on Kautsky.

41. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Manchester, 1918), pp. 4-5, 12-15, 27-28, 119-20, 140-41; Kautsky to Pavel Axelrod (16 November 1917), 16:5-88, Nicolaevsky Collection.

42. *Dictatorship*, pp. 19-20, 31-32, 35-38, 42-46, 58, 65-69, 70-71, 73-76, 140-41.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 24, 27-29, 55-56, 78-81, 88-91, 96-97, 100, 103-04, 108-20, 127, 131-34.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15, 22, 102-03, 136. I have altered capitalization in this passage.

45. Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution*, pp. 14, 17, 24-25, 32, 38-39, 43-46, 56-62, 65, 99.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 23, 32, 43-44, 46, 48, 51, 53-54, 65-68, 75, 83, 90-92, 100, 117-18, 120-22. Kautsky remained aloof from the savage moralizing and personal vendettas that increasingly characterized the non-Bolshevik attack on Lenin and the Soviet system. Despite Kautsky's very close relations with the Mensheviks, he did not succumb to the same bitterness that his Russian friends did. When in 1924, at the request of *Izvestia*, he wrote a postmortem evaluation of Lenin, Kautsky praised Lenin's historical role as a leader of the working-class movement, and indulged in no personal recriminations. Apparently the reasoned approach caused many of Kautsky's Menshevik friends to protest, because he had to print an explanation in *Der Kampf* 12 (1924), 176-79. In his justification, Kautsky referred to the need to take into account a person's entire life when making such a postmortem evaluation. He argued that by this standard, Lenin had been a major figure, even though the state he founded continued to be an abomination.

47. Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution*, pp. 121-22.

48. For the German revolution, see A. J. Ryder, *The German Revolution of 1918* (Cambridge, 1967), especially pp. 99-101, 146-49, 171-72, and 180, and Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 160-71; for the workers' councils, see Eberhard Kolb, *Die Arbeiterräte in der deutschen Innenpolitik, 1918-1919* (Düsseldorf, 1962) and Prager, *Geschichte*, pp. 181-85; for the rejection of the councils as the sole source of the government by the national congress of councils, see "Ein heisser Tag," *Freiheit*, 20 December 1918, no. 20; *Allgemeiner Kongress der Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte Deutschlands, 16-21 Dezember, 1918, Stenographische Berichte* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 141-44, 150, and *Zweiter Kongress der Arbeiter-, Bauern- und Soldatenräte Deutschlands, 8-14 April, 1919, Stenographisches Protokoll* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 150-223.

49. "Was will die deutsche sozialistische Republik?" handbill (1918), KFA 4; "Über den inneren Gegensatz in der USP." (unpublished article manuscript, KA 83), cited in Kolb, *Arbeiterräte*, p. 207, and Ryder, *German Revolution*, p. 183. Even Kautsky got caught up in the violence in January. On the afternoon of the fifteenth, he was taken prisoner by a group of soldiers and held for a few hours in the barracks of the Fourth Guard regiment. When word of Kautsky's arrest reached the governmental leaders, Ebert was highly distressed. At a joint meeting of the Council of People's Representatives and the *Zentralrat* on 15 January, Ebert said of Kautsky's treatment: "We must find out who was responsible for that, so that he may be properly punished. Kautsky is to be released at once." Soldiers also ransacked the Kautsky's home searching for evidence of a Kautsky-Luxemburg connection. See, "Die Verhaftung Kautskys," *Freiheit*, 16 January 1919, no. 28; Kolb, *Arbeiterräte*, 416 (citing KA, G11); Burdick and Lutz, *Political Institutions*, p. 193.

50. "Das Weiterleben der Revolution," *Freiheit*, 29 December 1918, no. 79; "Die zweite Phase der Revolution," *Freiheit*, 13 January 1919, no. 23; *Mein Verhältnis*, pp. 11-15. In the latter, written in 1922, Kautsky made the ultimate criticism of Noske, as did many other socialists at that time, by referring to him as the German Gallifet. Gallifet was the commander of the French troops responsible for the massacre of the Communards

in 1871. See also Eberhard Kolb, ed., *Der Zentralrat der deutschen sozialistischen Republik* (Leiden, 1969), p. 240, where an unpublished manuscript by Kautsky ("Die Politik der unabhängigen Sozialdemokratie," KA. 107) is cited for his view that the leftists forced the SPD to the right.

51. Kautsky's fullest discussion of the councils and the constituent assembly was "Nationalversammlung und Räteversammlung," which appeared in the *Freiheit*, 5 and 6 December 1918, nos. 37 and 39, and was reprinted as a pamphlet later in the month. For his view of the councils as revolutionary bodies, see below, and also "Richtlinien für ein sozialistisches Aktions-Programm," a special two-page supplement published by the *Freiheit*, 28 January 1918.

52. Anon., "Deutsche Taktik für die deutsche Revolution!" *Freiheit*, 14 December 1918, no. 54; anon., "Ein heisser Tag," *Freiheit*, 20 December 1918, no. 65; *Mein Verhältnis*, p. 14; USPD, *Protokoll*, March 1919, p. 3; USPD, *Protokoll*, Nov.-Dec. 1919, pp. 3-5.

53. "Kautsky zur Einigungsfrage," and "Einigung," *Freiheit*, 17 May 1919, no. 235, and 13 October 1919, no. 494, respectively.

54. For Kautsky's comments, see USPD, *Protokoll*, March 1919, pp. 123-26, 220-21; for Zerkin's speech, see pp. 128-41, especially, p. 133.

55. USPD, *Protokoll*, March 1919, pp. 117-18; Ryder, *German Revolution*, p. 208. Two months earlier Kautsky had made even more sweeping recommendations for purging the military and bureaucracy in a program proposal. See "Richtlinien," *Freiheit*, 28 January 1919 (special issue). Leftists like Richard Müller, chairman of the executive committee (*Vollzugsrat*) of the Berlin workers' and soldiers' councils, and Emil Barth argued repeatedly for strong measures to reduce the position of the officer corps; see *Vollzugsrat* meeting of 7 December, and cabinet and *Zentralrat* joint meeting of 20 December 1918, in Burdick and Lutz, *Political Institutions*, pp. 88-89, 107-08.

56. Anon., "Die Vorbereitung der Sozialisierung," *Freiheit*, 21 November 1918, no. 12; anon., "Austritt der Unabhängigen aus der Regierung," 29 December 1918, no. 78; Kautsky, *The Guilt of William Hohenzollern* (London, n.d.; translation of *Wie der Weltkrieg entstand*, 1919), pp. 7-8; Ryder, *German Revolution*, pp. 167-68, 188-93; Kolb, *Zentralrat*, p. 316. Though Kautsky officially resigned his office in early January, he continued to work hard to bring the USPD back into the government. On 7 January, as one of the negotiators on the issue, he tried to get a compromise on the SPD's demand that freedom of the press be restored before negotiations began—Spartacists had seized and destroyed 24,000 copies of the *Vorwärts* on the preceding day. Kautsky's proposal that negotiations be reopened on the condition that they lead to restoration of press freedom was rejected, largely because the SPD felt secure in its military position. Kautsky continued through 9 January to try to reopen SPD-USPD negotiations, working through Count Rantzau, the new foreign minister. See conference of the *Zentralrat* and go-betweens, 7 January, and cabinet meeting, 9 January 1919, in Burdick and Lutz, *Political Institutions*, pp. 179-84.

57. *Vom 1. Rätekongress zur Nationalversammlung* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 31-33 (the commission report is reprinted on pp. 32-33); anon., "Die Vorbereitung der Sozialisierung," *Freiheit*, 21 November 1918, no. 12; Kolb, *Zentralrat*, p. 67 n.8; Hermann Müller, *Die November-Revolution* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 197-98; Wolfgang Eiben, *Das Problem der Kontinuität in der deutschen Revolution* (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 82; anon., "Demission der Sozialisierungskommission," *Freiheit*, 9 April 1919, no. 171.

58. "Expropriation und Konfiskation," *Freiheit*, 25 November 1918, no. 19; "Schwierigkeiten der Sozialisierung," *Der Kampf*, 12 (19 July 1919), 469-74.

59. "Expropriation," *Freiheit*, 25 November 1918, no. 19; *Die Sozialisierung und die Arbeiterräte* (Vienna, 1919), pp. 3-7; "Schwierigkeiten," *Der Kampf*, 12 (19 July 1919), 470.

60. "Expropriation," *Freiheit*, 25 November 1918, no. 19; "Richtlinien," *Freiheit*, 28 January 1919 (special issue); *Sozialisierung*, pp. 8-11.

61. "Richtlinien," *Freiheit*, 28 January 1919 (special issue); *Sozialisierung*, pp. 7-8, 11-13.

62. *Sozialisierung*, pp. 15-16; *Zweite Kongress, Protokoll*, p. 243. *Sozialisierung* is the reprinted version of the speech Luise read at the congress, pp. 224-30.

63. Elben, *Problem*, pp. 111-13; *Vollzugsrat* proclamation, 26 November, cabinet meeting, 18 November, *Vollzugsrat* and cabinet meeting, 7 December, cabinet meeting, 9 December, and cabinet meeting, 18 December, in Burdick and Lutz, *Political Institutions*, pp. 62, 72-73, 81, 85-86, 89, 90-92, 99-101; anon., "Spät, aber doch!" *Freiheit*, 12 December 1918, no. 51; anon., "Sof's Rücktritt," *Freiheit*, 18 December 1918, no. 61; anon., "Wechsel im Auswärtigen Amt," *Freiheit*, 21 December 1918, no. 67.

64. Anon., "Ein Skandal," *Freiheit*, 27 November 1918, no. 22; anon., "Das Auswärtige Amt als Friedensstörer," *Freiheit*, 28 November 1918, no. 24; anon., "Die Besetzung des Auswärtigen Amtes," *Freiheit*, 29 November 1918, no. 27; Kautsky, "Die Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes," *Freiheit*, 1 December 1918, no. 30; Kautsky, *Guilt*, pp. 7-8.

65. Max Montgelas and Walter Schücking, eds. *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch* (1919; rpt. Berlin, 1921); Kautsky, *Guilt*, pp. 8-11. Kautsky received neither pay for his work on the documents from January through November 1919, nor royalties of any sort following publication. Five years later, Kautsky gave his approval to a new edition of the documents, agreed with Schücking and Montgelas that if a private publisher were to reissue the work, the three of them should receive some royalties, but he declined to write a foreword for the new edition. See Schücking to Kautsky (16 May 1924), and Kautsky to Schücking (26 May 1924), KFA 5.

66. *Guilt*, pp. 14, 63-64, 247, 257-69.

67. Hans Delbrück, *Kautsky und Harden* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 6-33; Theodore Schiemann, *Deutschland und Kaiser Wilhelms II. angebliche Schuld am Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*. (Berlin, 1921); Friedrich Freksa, *Menschliche Rechtfertigung Wilhelms II* (Munich, 1920). Hans Helmholz, another prominent historian, also wrote a critique: *Kautsky, der Historiker* (Charlottenburg, 1920). Kautsky wrote a reply to Delbrück: *Delbrück und Wilhelm II* (Berlin, 1920).

68. Kautsky to Benedikt (31 July 1919), Bebel, pp. xxxix-xl. Kautsky's prewar ambiguity on the question of political revolution and its relationship to social revolution is well represented by this passage from his 1902 work, *The Social Revolution*: "The conquest of state power by a previously oppressed class, that is, political revolution, is therefore an essential sign of social revolution in the narrower sense, in contrast to social reform" (p. 6). This view clearly presupposes a much closer temporal relationship between political and social revolution than Kautsky postulated after the war.

69. *Mein Verhältnis*, pp. 14-16; *Georgia: A Social Democratic Republic* (London, 1921). See Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin As Revolutionary, 1879-1929* (New York, 1973), pp. 67-69, for Kautsky's influence on Jordania, Menshevik leader of the Georgian republic, 1918-21.

Chapter Seven: Return to Vienna, 1924-1938

1. Kautsky to Irakli Tsereteli (7 June 1921, 21 October 1927, 20 January 1928, 18 May 1930), Kautsky to Garwy (1 February 1929), 15:3:23, Nicolaevsky Collection; Kautsky to liebe, teure Genossen (circular letter to exiled Georgian Mensheviks, 16 March 1923), KA G17; Kautsky to Theodore Dan (23 April 1929), KFA 8. In what was his strongest denunciation of the Soviet regime to that time, *Die Internationale und Sowjetrußland* (Berlin, 1925), Kautsky discussed the pro- and anti-popular uprising forces at work in

Russia (pp. 18, 20-21, 32-38), renounced armed intervention as too bloody and probably counterproductive (pp. 56-57), but rejected the Bolsheviks as potential comrades because of their slaughter of "brother socialists" and their reliance on brutal suppression at home and conspiracy against foreign socialist parties (p. 6). In this work, he referred to the Bolsheviks as "the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat" (p. 6).

2. Kautsky to Genossen (16 March 1923), KA G17; "Demokratie und Diktatur," *Der Kampf* 26 (1933), 45-58.

3. Kautsky to Garwy (1 February 1929), Kautsky to Tseretelli (18 May, 1 June, 15 June 1930), 15:3:23, Nicolaevsky Collection; Kautsky to Dan (3 June 1929), KFA 8.

4. Kautsky to Garwy (1 February 1929), 15:3:23, Nicolaevsky Collection; Kautsky to Dan (3 June 1929), KFA 8. During the early and mid-1890s, Kautsky had made the same "compromise in practice, but not in theory" distinction while urging the SPD to engage in the Prussian Landtag elections. See above, chap. 4.

5. USPD, *Protokoll*, March 1919, pp. 115-16, 123, 125-26, 220-21; Zetkin's harsh rebuttal to Kautsky is on pp. 136-38. For an account of this Bern conference (there was another in 1920), see Wheeler, "Independent Social Democratic Party," pp. 155-86. Wheeler argues that Kautsky's speech on "democracy and dictatorship" was not entirely hostile to the Bolsheviks (pp. 184-85), and also points out that like many others at the conference, Kautsky wrongly attributed the final resolution on the matter to Kurt Eisner (pp. 177-80).

6. USPD, *Protokoll*, March 1919, p. 221; "Judas in Luzern," *Freiheit*, 20 August 1919, no. 397; *Die Internationale* (Vienna, 1920), pp. 54-59, 65-67, 78-80.

7. Fritz Brügel, *Der Weg der Internationale* (Vienna, 1931), pp. 14-16; Josef Lenz, *Die II. Internationale und ihr Erbe, 1889-1929* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 180-207, 221-29; *Protokoll der internationalen sozialistischen Konferenz in Wien vom 22. bis 27. Februar 1921* (Vienna, 1921), pp. 6-7.

8. Friedrich Adler to Kautsky (9 September 1924, 10 August 1930), KFA 2. An example of Kautsky's differences with the L.S.I. and the Austrian party is the article "Demokratie und Diktatur." It was published in *Der Kampf*, an official journal of the Austrian party, with a note announcing that neither the editorial staff nor the party agreed completely with the views Kautsky expressed. In the same number of *Der Kampf*, the correspondence between Friedrich Adler and Kautsky concerning the latter's article was published. See "Zur Diskussion über Sowjetrussland," *Der Kampf*, 26 (1933), 58-69. Kautsky also took a hard line on the question of a united front. See "Ein Verfechter der Einheitsfront," *Der Kampf*, 21 (1928), 446-52. This, too, was at odds with official L.S.I. policy. There is no survey of the L.S.I.; for its policy positions, see its *Second Congress: Report of the Secretariat*, and *Congress Report* (London, 1926); *Third Congress: Reports and Proceedings* (Brussels, 1928); *Fourth Congress: Reports and Proceedings* (Vienna, 1931); and the *Fifth Congress: Protokoll* (Paris, 1933). Official delegate lists are included at the end of the congress reports. For the delegates at Paris, see *After the German Catastrophe* (Zurich, 1933).

9. L.S.I. fourth congress dossier, Hoover Institution; *Arbeiter-Zeitung* 44:205, 27 July 1931; *Festschrift zur 2. Arbeiter-Olympiade* (Vienna, 1931).

10. Fritz Brügel, "Der Weg der Internationale," *Der jugendliche Arbeiter* 7 (1931), 9 (later reprinted in longer form as *Der Weg der Internationale* [Vienna, 1931]; see pp. 9-10 for quote on Kautsky); *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1927), p. xii (foreword).

11. Axelrod to Kautsky (5 December 1927), 16:5:84, Nicolaevsky Collection; Garwy to Kautsky (10 November 1927), KFA 9.

12. *Geschichte*, I, v, 21, 119-27, 140, 197-98, 424-75, II, 630-31; Lenin, *Materialism and*

Empirio-Criticism (1908; rpt. Peking, 1972), p. 420. On pp. 119-27 of his book, Kautsky discussed Ernst Mach's notion of "functional dependence" as an alternative to the cause-and-effect principle. Despite the urgings of Friedrich Adler to the contrary, Kautsky stuck to cause and effect. To substantiate his assertion about the reality of the external world, Kautsky converted Descartes' *cognito, ergo sum* to *ago, ergo sum* ("I act, therefore I am"). He contended that the ability of humans to act, and to perceive the results of their actions, verified not only personal existence, but also the reality of the extrapersonal world (pp. 112-13).

13. Karl Korsch, "Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Karl Kautsky," *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung* 14 (1929), 181, 196-213. Korsch and Kautsky had had previous literary confrontations. See Kautsky's review of Korsch's *Marxismus und Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1923), in *Die Gesellschaft* 1 (1924), 306-14. Here Kautsky took offense at Korsch's observation that the entire second half of the nineteenth century saw a "flattening and impoverishment of the teachings of Marx into vulgar Marxism." For a discussion of Karl Korsch (1886-1961), see Claudio Pozzoli, ed., *Über Karl Korsch* (Frankfurt a.M., 1973).

14. *Geschichts.*, I, vii, 65, 127, 197-98, 791; Kautsky to Dan (23 April 1929), KFA 8.

15. *Geschichts.*, I, 107, 136, 241-306, 570-700, 790, II, passim. In an earlier work devoted to a refutation of Bernstein's insistence on coupling Kantian ethics with Marxism, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History* (1906; rpt. Chicago, 1914), Kautsky called changes in techniques of production "the foundation of the entire development of man" (p. 122).

16. "Imperialismus und reaktionäre Masse," *NZ* 35:2 (1916-17), 102-15; *Geschichts.*, I, 1-7, II, 620.

17. *Geschichts.*, I, xv, II, 681. Even after writing *The Materialist Conception*, Kautsky repeated the standard Marxist rejection of absolutes. In "Marxism and Bolshevism," in *Socialism, Fascism, Communism*, ed. Joseph Shaplen and David Shub (New York, 1934), he rejected "doctrinaire fanaticism" as "contrary to Marxist thought, which recognizes no absolute truth but only relative truth" (p. 176).

18. "Hitlerism and Social Democracy," in *Socialism*, ed. Shaplen and Shub, pp. 53-57, 68, 70-71, 86, 92; "Einige Ursachen und Wirkungen des deutschen Nationalsozialismus," *Der Kampf* 26 (1933), 235-45; "Die blutige Revolution," *Der Kampf* 26 (1933), 346-61; Kautsky to Garwy (30 August 1938), KFA 8. The letter to Garwy is reprinted in *Ein Leben für den Sozialismus* (Hanover, 1954), pp. 109-10.

19. "Hitlerism," pp. 73-78, 81, 89, 92, 96, 99-102; "Marxism and Bolshevism," pp. 213-14; Kautsky to Algernon Lee (22 December 1935), KFA 8.

20. Gregory Bienstock to Kautsky (30 December 1933), KFA 2. A portion of this letter is reproduced in *E&E*, p. 7.

21. Kautsky to Bienstock (15 January 1934), KFA 8; "Hitlerism," p. 102. A portion of the letter to Bienstock is reproduced in *E&E*, p. 8.

22. Kautsky to Algernon Lee (7 July 1935), KFA 8; Oscar Pollack to Kautsky (9 March 1933), KFA 8; *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus* (Prague, 1935).

23. *Krieg und Demokratie* (Berlin, 1932); *Sozialisten und Krieg* (Prague, 1937). For Kautsky's plans for the four volumes, see *Krieg*, p. vii; for the bizarre fate of the second volume, see *Sozialisten*, pp. v-vi.

24. KFA 118:3 is a collection of letters and clippings concerning Kautsky's nomination for the Nobel peace prize; Paul Olberg, "Karl Kautsky als Kandidat für den Nobel-Friedenspreis 1938," in *Ein Leben für den Sozialismus*, pp. 103-08. Albert Einstein refused to support Kautsky's nomination. See George Garvy, "Albert Einstein and the Nobel Peace Prize for Karl Kautsky," *IRSH* 18 (1973), 107-10.

25. Bruno, review of Karl Kautsky, *Sozialismus [sic] und Krieg*, in *Der einzige Weg: Zeitschrift für die Vierte Internationale* 1 (1937), 27-28.

26. *EEF*, pp. 6, 15-16; interviews with Dr. Karl Kautsky, Jr., summer 1972, 1975-76; Benedikt Kautsky to Friedrich Adler (8 June 1945), Benedikt to Felix (24 July 1945), in B. Kautsky, *Luise Kautsky*, pp. 30, 34-40.

27. Interviews with Dr. Kautsky. Benedikt Kautsky wrote an account of the concentration camp experience. *Teufel und Verdammte* (Zurich, 1946).

28. *Luise Kautsky*, pp. 3, 10-12, 17-23, 30.

29. *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm*, pp. 42-49.

30. "Marxism and Bolshevism," p. 192.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 181; Rafael Abramowitch to Kautsky (14 October 1930, 5 September 1932), KFA 1:1; Kautsky to Algernon Lee (8 July 1935), KFA 8.